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National Perils and Hopes

By Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph.D.

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National Perils and Hopes

A STUDY BASED ON CURRENT STATISTICS
AND THE OBSERVATIONS OF A
CHEERFUL REFORMER

BY

WILBUR F. CRAFTS, PH.D.

Superintendent International Reform Bureau, Author of
"Practical Christian Sociology", "The Sabbath
for Man", "World Book of Temperance"
"Successful Men of To-day", etc.

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

The publisher by way of introducing the author to any reader who may need such introduction, having in mind that the history of a witness is an essential factor in weighing such important testimony as this book contains, subjoins here the biographical sketch of the author which appears in the British "Who's Who?" brought down to date.

Wilbur Fisk Crafts, minister, author, editor, lecturer, reformer; born Fryburg, Maine, January 12, 1850; son of Rev. Frederick A. Crafts, a Methodist preacher, of Puritan stock; married 1874, Sara J. Timanus, Sunday school writer and speaker; graduated at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Ct; 1869, B. A.; 1871, A. M.; also from Boston University School of Theology, 1871, B. D. (Ph. D., Marietta College, 1896); was pastor of churches in Stoneham, Haverhill, New Bedford, all Massachusetts; Dover, N. H.; Chicago, Brooklyn and New York, 1867-88. Since 1871 has been active in Sunday school work and has participated (usually with his wife) in twenty-nine Sunday school assemblies, known as Chautauquas, and in countless conventions; founded the American Sabbath Union, 1889; lectured in all parts of the United States as its Field Secretary, 1889-90; founded the Reform Bureau, since named The International Reform Bureau, 1895; chief editor of the Christian Statesman, 1901-3; Twentieth Century Quarterly since 1896. Author of 34 books: Through the Eye to the Heart, 1873; Wagons for Eye Gate, Trophies of Song, 1874; Childhood, the Text-Book of the Age, 1875; The Ideal Sunday School, 1876; Fireside Talks on Genesis, Song Victories, 1877; The Bible and the Sunday School, The Two Chains, 1878; The Coming Man is the Present Child, Illustrations of the International Sunday School Lessons, Symbols and System in Bible Reading, Normal Outlines, 1879; Rescue of Child-Soul, 1880; Normal Half-Hours, Plain Uses of the Blackboard, 1881; Talks to Boys and Girls About Jesus, Teachers' Edition of the Revised Testament, Successful Men of To-day, 1883; Must the Old

Testament Go? Talks and Stories of Heroes and Holidays, The Sabbath for Man, Rhetoric Made Racy, 1884; The Temperance Century, 1885; Reading the Bible with Relish, 1887; The Civil Sabbath, 1890; Practical Christian Sociology, 1895; Social Progress, 1896; Before the Lost Arts, Protection of Native Races Against Intoxicants and Opium, 1900. New editions of most of above books brought out in the twentieth century. The March of Christ Down the Centuries, 1902; A Primer of Internationalism (English, Japanese and Arabic editions), 1908; World Book of Temperance, 1909 (Mrs. Crafts joint author of this and six other books above); National Perils and Hopes, 1910. Traveled abroad, 1873, 1880, 1906, 1907, 1909—in last case Chairman U. S. Government delegates to Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism. Address 206 Pennsylvania Ave., S. E., Washington, D. C.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD.

At two national conferences of 1909, that of the Interchurch Temperance Federation, representing the temperance committees of eight denominations, and the "Reformers' Conclave," representing by delegates and officials, thirty-one national societies devoted wholly or partly to moral reform, I was invited to open the discussions by a general survey of present moral conditions in the nation and the world. The reasons that prompted those requests justify the publishing of the address, with additions, for a larger constituency. The "perils" herein described should be made known by all intelligent patriots, but especially by the professions, to which the people look for leadership.

Ministers have done more for moral reforms, in pulpit and press, than the members of all other professions, but far less than it is their duty and privilege to do as successors of prophets and apostles who fearlessly reasoned, not only with individual citizens, but especially with officials and cities and nations, of "righteousness, temperance and a judgment to come."

As to the doctors, the twentieth century experiments on alcohol in many lands, showing the harmfulness of the most moderate use of beer and wine, which can be made as interesting, and are a thousandfold more important than explorations of

frozen lands, ought to be made as well known by those who are not content to be mere *physicians,* that is, physic dispensers, but are ready to take their part in schools and halls as real *doctors,* that is, teachers—a term that puts the emphasis on teaching men how to keep well, in which teaching they may give to old and young the most persuasive arguments for all physical virtues.

Lawyers, too much accustomed to wait for clients to take the initiative, should insist as patriotic citizens on having some of the higher privileges of the profession in the free and voluntary development and application of laws of the Gladstonian grade that make it harder for old and young to do wrong, and easier to do right.

Teachers, next to parents and preachers, have the greatest opportunity of all to weed out, at their very inception, the vices that sadden the world, by teaching the required temperance lessons of public schools and Sunday schools, not as a task but as a privilege and power for good. The true teacher will not make "the three R's" seem more important than the three virtues, abstinence, purity, honesty. Sex lessons, as we shall show, are needed no less than lessons on alcohol, and lessons on honesty should not be forgotten. Teachers should take their full share of blame for the robber profits charged in the United States for the necessities of life, partly due to the failure of the public schools to defend the public against extortion by teaching the first principles of honesty. The graduates of our

schools—even the pupils of our Sunday schools—enter business in the undisturbed belief that no "principles" apply to profits except supply, demand and competition, all of which are put out of action, not only by the "trust" but also by trade agreements in every town that has applied the discovery that "cut throat competition" among merchants is far less profitable and permanent than a quiet union of trades to rob the unorganized public.

Neither individual conversion alone nor prohibition alone will bring the better day. We must get men "right with God" personally, but education and organization must be added to *get men right with men socially*. In righting men socially, one of the most important tasks the world over is that on which all veterans in temperance work are united, "Abolish the bar." But the most serious ethical error of the hour is the assumption that this is a panacea for all social ills. We need generals who can see more than one small fraction of the long battle line, of whom it may be said, "He saw life steadily and saw it whole."

In other books I have discussed in chapters what in these pages must be presented rough hewn in paragraphs, that have a practical purpose as calls to battle which would be hindered by greater length or elaboration. These paragraphs will bring those previous discussions up to date. College classes using my "Practical Christian Sociology" will find directly supplemental matter in "The

March of Christ Down the Centuries" and in this volume on "National Perils and Hopes."

Much of this book is of the nature of testimony by an eye witness before a grand jury. It is essential to its purpose, therefore, that the author should speak often of his own observations and experiences. A veteran, on his sixtieth birthday, sends this contribution of facts to younger reformers, that being forewarned they may be forearmed. It takes the blackest black to paint faithfully the perils of the hour, and the whitest white to paint the hopes. The writer has resisted the besetting temptation of reformers to withhold or qualify facts that are not encouraging. Where one disheartened man needs to be encouraged, a thousand who are indifferent because ignorant of the real situation need to be AROUSED. One of the supreme mistakes of reformers has been to make so much of the so-called "reform wave" that idlers and cowards in their audiences and among their readers have been led to feel that we are going to win without their aid. The reformer, like the witness, should tell the facts regardless of their lights and shadows. There is enough light—though it is only morning twilight yet—to cheer the most despondent, and there is enough thunder in the clouds, if we do not close our windows, to awake the dead.

The reformer, however, must not allow the shadows in which he walks to get into his own soul. Like Lincoln, amid the horrors of a fratricidal war,

he must cherish "a saving sense of humor," for his own sake and the sake of his work, and above all a fadeless faith in God.

WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

International Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C.

"I hold not with the pessimist that all things are ill, nor with the optimist that all things are well. All things are not ill, and all things are not well, but all things shall be well because this is God's world." — *Robert Browning*.

"We need both social reform and personal regeneration, a better social order and better men, but we shall attain neither unless we strive for both simultaneously. To safeguard and develop the individual, found the Christian home and build the City of God — that is the work of the Christian church." — *Rev. David Watson*, in "Social Problems and the Church's Duty."

National Perils and Hopes

"Is the world growing better?" Let the orator who is bound to prove the affirmative, as if he were a debater at school or an attorney for the present, compare the opening years of the nineteenth century with the same years in the twentieth, in any or every land, and he will seem to prove his case.

But let the fearless searcher for truth compare the beginning and end of this generation in this country, with living witnesses as well as dead statistics close at hand.

THIRTEEN INCREASING EVILS.

Since the Civil War, thirteen clouds, some of them cyclonic, have increasingly darkened the American sky, namely: the consumption of liquors, murders, divorces, lynchings, labor riots, municipal corruption, Sabbath desecration, impure shows, yellow journalism, brutal sports, judicial maladministration, graft and general lawlessness.

And in nine of these evils we "beat the world."

The list might be lengthened, but these should furnish thunderbolts enough to arouse the most indifferent.

I.

THE CONSUMPTION OF LIQUORS, MURDERS AND DIVORCES.

Let us briefly study, in groups of three, these evils that have increased out of proportion to the population since 1864. The consumption of liquors, murders and divorces are properly grouped together, for the first is the chief cause of the second, and a more frequent cause than published statistics show, of the divorces, which are placed last in the group because it is really less harmful to society to destroy a life than to dissolve a family. If people were not so excessively individualistic, and so unduly considerate of the body even in estimating individual welfare; if "the general good" were indeed "the supreme law," the man or woman responsible for a divorce, whether wife or husband or paramour, would be regarded as a social leper quite as much as if he had destroyed a life instead of that which makes life worth living, both individually and socially.

THE CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR.

This is a subject which requires a frank and fearless discussion. With three or four notable exceptions, temperance advocates have most unwisely ignored the fact, which might have served as the biggest of our fire bells to awake those that "are at ease in Zion," that THE PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF LIQUORS HAS INCREASED STEADILY

SINCE 1844, LIKE A RISING TIDE, EXCEPT IN YEARS OF FINANCIAL DEPRESSION. Again and again, and again, editors and orators have proclaimed, as if it were all over in the anti-alcohol war but the shouting, that there was a relative decrease in beer consumption, and an actual decrease in whiskey, in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, without an intimation that liquor consumption usually falls off in "panic" years about two gallons per capita,*

*Per capita consumption of all kinds of intoxicating liquors, by Statistical Abstract:

	GALLONS
1850	4.08
1860	6.43
1870	7.70
1880	10.08
1890	15.53
1893	18.20
1894	16.97
1895	16.57
1896	16.66
1897	16.50
1898	17.36
1900	17.68
1907	23.54
1908	23.01
1909	21.86

The decrease from 1907 to 1909 was only five-hundredths of a gallon more than from 1893 to 1895, when the "hard times" were not accompanied by any "reform wave." The National Prohibitionist notes that in August, 1909, beer consumption increased 200,000 bar- (2,244,185). In October of that year beer fell off 200,000 barrels, but whiskey increased 1,500,000 gallons. The figures are encouraging, but they do not seem to the writer to indicate any very decisive ebb in the destroying tide that has been steadily rising for half a century. (2,244,185). In October of that year beer fell off 200,000 barrels, but whiskey increased 1,500,000 gallons. The figures are encouraging, but they do not seem to the writer to indicate any very decisive ebb in the destroying tide that has been steadily rising for half a century.

which would account for one hundred and eighty millions of gallons decrease before we can figure on the effect of the "reform wave." On November 1, 1909, there had been a net gain of $3,000,000 in "infernal revenue" from distilled liquors in the four months of the fiscal year, and the beer revenue had also increased up to October, during which it had fallen off only $194,000 despite the reduction, since July 1, of 12,704 in the number of liquor dealers. This fact should be pondered by those who think a reduction of the number of liquor dealers necessarily means a reduction of liquor consumption and its consequences. Most decidedly is this not the case when in place of three small, ill-equipped "dives" there is a consolidation into one attractive "silver dollar saloon."

We cannot be sure there is in progress a reduction that looks like the approaching death of the liquor traffic until we see whether the statistics of the year ending June 30, 1910, show prosperity's usual unfeeling disregard for the Henry George school of reformers, who hold that poverty is the chief cause of intemperance and other sins, and that people wouldn't do much of anything wrong if they were well paid. Luxury has in all history been the prolific mother of vices, but the Henry George theory that "money answereth all things" morally has been "laughed out of court" in this period of the "great disclosures" of millionaire robbers, beside whose frauds on government and people, Robin Hood and Jesse James "look like thirty cents."

THE STRONGEST ARGUMENT AGAINST PROHIBITION.

The reiterated statement that prohibition has not decreased the per capita consumption of liquors is the strongest argument of the aroused liquor dealers, who have spent more money in defensive literature in the last four years than in the previous forty. That should be both encouraging and arousing to our side, which is not making a like advance to meet the foe. But temperance editors and orators alike mostly ignore this most plausible and persuasive of all the arguments of their opponents, which really is not difficult to answer, and should be captured and used victoriously on our side.

Grant that from 1844 to 1907 the per capita consumption of liquors increased except in "hard times," despite the fact that several states and many towns outlawed saloons. We will grant more than that, namely, that the per capita consumption of liquors increased with the same exception, despite the organization of numerous temperance societies and the introduction of temperance lessons in the public schools and Sunday schools of the whole country.

Whatever the per capita increase in the consumption of liquors proves as to prohibition laws it proves equally as to total abstinence societies. "Prohibitory laws," exclaims the president of the Model License League, "so far from decreasing the consumption of liquors have actually increased it." By the same major premise he should argue that

total abstinence societies have increased the use of intoxicants, especially as these are much more widespread than prohibitory laws.

As all the thirteen evils enumerated in the beginning of this chapter have increased faster than the population, he should also claim that prohibition of murder, adultery, lynchings, riots, bribery, Sunday work, foul shows, corrupt literature, prize fights, malfeasance, graft, and other wrongs has actually *produced* the increase in these evils.

Manifestly there is something crooked in the logic that produces such absurdities. It is a bad case of the fallacy, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* (after, therefore because of). The liquor dealers' "strongest argument," on close inspection, proves as childish as the little boy's supposition that the railway train, which started *after* he tooted, started *because* of his toot. The proof of prohibition's good effects is in the reduction of crime in the communities where bars are outlawed, in comparing license with "no license" years, and in the contrast between towns and states under the opposing policies. Of these we shall speak later in discussing crime as related to the saloon.

But what is the explanation of this riddle that perplexes reformers at home and abroad, that the per capita consumption of liquors, down to 1907 at any rate, steadily increased even when the saloons were being steadily decreased? One explanation is that American wages were also increasing, enabling those who drink to buy more. Another ex-

planation is that the hours allowed saloons for midnight robbery of their patrons were also increasing. It is one of the most amazing illustrations of being penny wise and dollar foolish to see chambers of commerce promoting catch-penny street fairs while making no protest at the all-night opening of saloons which is allowed, for example, all over Pennsylvania (save where a license judge interposes) under what claims to be "the best license law," but has been made by this permission for all-night saloons one of the very worst. It is not alone waste of money in drink that the opening of saloons after ten o'clock promotes, but direct robbery and murder. I have studied groups in saloons between ten and eleven at night in which every man was too drunk to know whether he was robbed in change by the bartender or in other ways by any sober thief awaiting his exit at the door. Where nothing more can be accomplished, saloons should be limited to daylight, and all gas and electric light fixtures prohibited. Business men on business grounds, if on no other, should at least refuse to allow saloons to remain open after other shops are closed, drawing from their customers the money due others for real "goods." The church is often reproached for its lack of business methods in the words of the proverb, "The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light," but I know of nothing more unbusinesslike in all the world than the way boards of trade allow beer and opium sellers to kill the buying power and the

buyers themselves in the new markets of the mission fields and in the home markets as well.

THE ENEMY'S FALLACY TURNED INTO A BUGLE CALL.

Good generalship on the temperance side will enable us to impress into our service these saloon advocates who proclaim that liquor consumption is increasing, as buglers to arouse the Church to move forward to the "firing line."

The steady increase in the consumption of liquor does not prove that prohibition is not efficient, BUT IT DOES PROVE THAT PROHIBITION IS NOT SUFFICIENT. EVERY REAL GENERAL IN THE TEMPERANCE ARMY SHOULD SEE THAT IT MEANS THAT OUR ANTI-SALOON CAMPAIGNS MUST BE SUPPLEMENTED BY ANTI-ALCOHOL CAMPAIGNS, FOR WHICH SCIENCE HAS FORGED US IN THE TWENTIETH CENTUY SUCH WEAPONS AS REFORMERS NEVER HAD BEFORE.

The social verdict, "No license," must be followed by the individual verdict, "No liquor," as President Eliot showed in 1908 in a most conclusive address, adapted to win other scholarly recruits to our cause, which would have been re-echoed at once in every pulpit in the land if the pastors had really appreciated their apostolic succession to the work of Him who was "manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil" (John 3:8). After a vigorous campaign against the saloon as a loafing, treating, plotting resort of thieves and anarchists and grafters, in which the churches often show

that they have a real social power, the forces usually disband as if the ultimate victory were won, though half or more of those who voted against the saloon think the harm was in the *atmosphere* of the place and in the *adulterations,* not in the alcohol, and will go right on buying their drinks through express offices or drug stores under the delusion that beer is a relatively harmless drink and alcohol a useful medicine, all unaware of the conclusive verdicts of scientists to the contrary, which it is an impeachment of the fidelity of any preacher to find unknown by anybody in his congregation. If he would tell them less of current doubts and more of these ethical facts he would show himself a wiser shepherd.

TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES CAN NOT WIN WITHOUT THE CHURCH.

That liquor consumption has steadily increased while one national society after another has been added to our temperance forces—the Sons of Temperance in 1843, the Good Templars in 1857, the National Temperance Society in 1865, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1872, the American Anti-Saloon League in 1893, the International Reform Bureau in 1896, and many more—*does not prove that temperance societies have not been efficient, but it does prove that they are not sufficient.* These are but a thin line of skirmishers, constituted from the one per cent of heroes in many churches, who, impatient at the steady retreat of the Church before the worst foes of God and man, have organized themselves into guerilla bands to fight as a rear

guard until the main army can be aroused to turn about for the final decisive fight, which no other force can win. When the Church really becomes "the Church militant," it will speedily become, even in this world, "the Church triumphant."

In voters, in wealth, in social influence, the Church has more than "the balance of power." But so-called "church leaders" are often leaders of nothing but retreats. When gamblers or liquor dealers or white slavers come out against the Church in battle array, these trembling "leaders" cry: "The work of the Church must be inspirational. We must not meddle in politics. Let us pray." To which God replies, as to Joshua, who was praying when action was in order: "Get thee up; wherefore liest thou upon thy face?"

I do not forget that several denominations have temperance committees. Of these I shall speak later. They count at this point only for the usual exceptions, especially as only one of them is doing any considerable work, and only two have any employed officers.

The theological professors, of all the people in the United States, should most lay to heart the fact that *the consumption of liquors has been increasing right along with the per capita increase of church membership*. It is an impeachment of pastors, and especially of their trainers, that the great increase of church members since 1850 has not meant a great decrease in the consumption of intoxicants. It will no longer be so when pastors are trained not alone

to "save souls in heaven," but also to "save society if only to make a safe place for saved souls." "City problems" will be solved when preachers are trained not alone to make a sermon but to build on earth the City of God. No pastor who understands the second Psalm, in which God gives to his Son "the nations—the governments—for his inheritance"; and the fourth chapter of Luke, where Jesus proclaims the full gospel of social justice; and the second great commandment, which means, in modern phrase, right relations among men, can fail to see that the "conversion" he is "called" to promote as a partner of God is twofold, well expressed in the Salvation Army's translation of the two great commandments: *"Change the man, change the surroundings."*

The first of these conversions is best accomplished by individual effort, but the second requires organized co-operation of all uplifting forces, in the city, the state, the nation and the world.

CRIME MOSTLY A SALOON PRODUCT.

Returning to the main line of our argument we face again the increased per capita consumption of liquors in close conjunction with the corresponding increase of crime. At the Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism, held in London in 1909, the Chief Justice of England, Lord Alverstone, presiding at a union meeting of the many temperance societies of the military and civil services of the British government—let our judges and other offi-

cials take note—gave 90 per cent as his estimate, from fifty years' observation as lawyer and judge, of the proportion of crime that is primarily due to intoxicants. Independently, Judge Wm. J. Pollard, of the police court in St. Louis, had previously named 85 per cent as his estimate, from a lower range of judicial observation. And in a paper sent to the congress by Lieut. Col. McHardy, based on study of 153 criminal cases in Edinburgh, 84 per cent was the exact result found. These strikingly concur with older statistics gathered by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor (26th Annual Report), from wider and more scientific examination of the criminals of a whole state, which showed that 94 per cent were "addicted to the use of liquor," and 82 per cent were "in liquor" at the time of committing the offense. What a travesty of justice to require judges to license in one term of court the business that shall furnish nine-tenths of the crime that shall be brought before them in all other terms!

"NO LICENSE" MEANS LESS CRIME.

Here it is appropriate to recall that the closing of public bars usually reduces crime about two-thirds, even though anyone can import liquors for his own use under any form of prohibition, and more or less liquor is always sold illegally in such cases, as nearly every other law is more or less violated. Pages of statistics to show that closing bars reduces crime might be quoted from "The World Book of Temper-

ance" and other reliable sources, but a few representative examples will be sufficient for this brief discussion. The number of criminal drunks in the state of New Hampshire during the last year of a very inferior form of prohibition, badly enforced, was 473. In the four succeeding years, under a new license law, the criminal drunks rose in number to 853, 1,337, 1,657, and 2,181, respectively, a fivefold increase in four years of so-called "restrictive" legislation. The difference in the arrests for drunkenness between license and no license years in the same Massachusetts cities (this and above statistics from the Anti-Saloon Year Book) were as follows—the first figures in each case for "no license" years, the second showing the increase when licenses were restored: Brockton, 455-1,627; Waltham, 179-634; Taunton, 482-1,202; Chelsea, 398-1,246; Newburyport, 150-673; Lowell, 2,304-4,077; Salem, 503-1,432; Woburn, 204-842; Fitchburg, 359-1,160. The number of arrests for drunkenness are from two to five times as great under license, and it should be remembered that police officers would naturally be more lenient under a license regime, and also that "no license" in such local application often means only that a nickel trolley ride of half an hour is necessary to get to a saloon in the next town. Even in England where they are good walkers, keeping Bessbrook free of a bar, though there was one a mile away, decreased crime by decreasing the facilities to drink.

Back of the court reform that President Taft has made the distinctive "Taft policy," and back of the juvenile court, which is the best court reform already realized, lies the temperance reform—of which bar associations and penologists are usually shy—whose full accomplishment would cut off at least three-fourths of the sad business of courts and prisons. It is playing "Hamlet" with Hamlet and three of the four murders left out to discuss either court reform or prison reform without a full and frank discussion of the saloon as the nest of crime.

EVILS IN WHICH WE BEAT THE WORLD.

In enumerating the thirteen evils that have unquestionably increased since 1864. I named, instead of crime in general, the chief personal crime, murder, in order to avoid useless controversy with the willful, professional optimist, who, when told that there are more prisoners per capita in our jails than in any former decade, catches like a drowning man at a straw and cries, "You have counted some long-term prisoners twice." There are really not many who are counted twice in any comparison by decades, for judges and pardon boards and petitioners for pardons in most cases have far more pity for the weeping prisoner and his wife and children than for the absent and indefinite public. To avoid this controversy, however, I have not even cited the number of murderers, but the number of *murders,* which are about nine thousand a year, not counting the manslaughter of automobiles and football.

These Chicago Tribune figures are too small by so many murders as do not get into the papers, which may be fairly supposed to be a considerable number from the hundreds of letters that come to the police whenever an unknown corpse is found, from those whose friends have long been "missing," some of whom have no doubt been killed. Our nine thousand murders a year mostly occur between the hours of eight in the evening and five in the morning, at the rate of *one murder every twenty minutes*. Surely if justice were more sure-footed and swift this bloody record would no longer continue to grow redder year by year. Dr. Andrew D. White, former president of Cornell and ex-ambassador to Germany and Russia, sees grave danger in the prevalence of crime, especially murder. In 1910 he said that homicide is 43 times greater in the United States than in Canada, while it is seven times greater than in Belgium, which is considered the worst country in Europe. The average American criminal, he stated, serves but seven years of a life sentence, and only one out of 74 murderers is convicted. The number of felonious homicides per year per million population for various countries he gave as follows:

Canada 3, Germany 4 to 5, England and Wales 10 to 11, France 12 to 15, Belgium 15, United States over 129. These figures are based on an average taken for eight years. In answer to the argument that punishment of crime does not stop the crime, he gave instances of so-called epidemics of murder, which were stopped at once by the hanging of sev-

eral found guilty. Dr. White has little sympathy for what he calls the pseudo-scientific theory that crime is a disease. "The truth of the matter," he says, "is that crime is crime and disease is disease."

Many evils we seek to lay at the door of our immigrants, but in the roll of our murderers Americans have their full proportion, and this is also one of the nine evils in which we "beat the world." Our full "nine" in this "base" contest stands as follows: murders, divorces, lynchings, labor riots, municipal corruption, yellow literature, brutal sports, judicial maladministration, general lawlessness.

DIVORCES INCREASING THREE TIMES AS FAST AS THE POPULATION.

Marriage being regarded by one church as a sac rament and by all as a sacred rite, it might be supposed that all churches would sedulously guard it against both contemporaneous and consecutive polygamy. Mormonism, a hierarchy as heathen as Jezebel's priests of Astarte, dominates so much of Rocky Mountain politics that it may decide some close national election unless a way is found to disfranchise all men and women who "live their religion" in defiance of law and civilization.

But the consecutive polygamy of unwarranted divorce is as much more perilous than Mormonism to the body politic as blood poisoning is more dangerous to the individual than a local ulcer. And yet, until well into the twentieth century, only one denomination that allows any divorce really con-

strained its preachers to refuse re-marriage to parties divorced on other than the one ground that Christ is generally understood to have approved. Through that one denomination a union divorce committee of the American churches has been organized, with Bishop Doane of Albany as chairman, which has had a most favorable influence both in church and state.

In no white nation of Christendom are so many families wrecked by divorce as in the United States. Japan alone of civilized powers outruns us in this, with one divorce to every three marriages. It is almost as bad in Cleveland and vicinity, the "Western Reserve," colonized from Connecticut, and in Kansas City, with one divorce to every five marriages in both, not counting the "grace widows," deserted without legal permission, for whom reformers should devise some redress, hunting to the ends of the earth all husbands who desert their wives and children, and compelling them to work for their support under state supervision, if such support cannot be collected by some other process of law.

Every preacher should prepare himself to present, with the confidence of abundant knowledge, this subject of divorce, on which even church members, especially women, often hold shallow views that are based on the marital infelicities of their own friends, with no due regard to the general good, which often requires the sacrifice of individual pleasure or preference.

The United States Government, through its Census Bureau, collected and collated the divorce statistics of the whole country for forty years from 1867, during which period THE DIVORCES INCREASED THREE TIMES AS FAST AS THE POPULATION, the increase being nearly uniform from year to year and from decade to decade. In 1906, the number of divorces was 72,062. At the rate of increase shown, the number in 1909 would be fully 75,000, that is, about 250 a day, not counting Sundays and holidays when no court sits.

PROHIBITION NOT A PANACEA.

The largest percentage of divorces to population is found in the following states: Washington, Montana, Colorado, Indiana and Arkansas. "Not a prohibition state in the black list," exclaims the one-idea reformer, who believes that closing liquor bars will banish about all our social ills. Nay, for Kansas is close to the rear, being one of the worst seven states in this divorce vice; and North and South Dakota, and even Maine, have all ranked high in prohibition and low in divorces. These last three named have improved somewhat of late—South Dakota in spite of a relapse to license. They are still far short of the front rank, where stand two license commonwealths, New York and the District of Columbia, the only ones that have adopted the law of Christ on divorce.

When the city of Worcester, with 142,000 population, by its own local vote became the largest pro-

hibition city in the world, the loafers driven from the saloons crowded the peanut galleries of the lowest vaudeville shows, which a narrow view of reform left unmolested to furnish a worse intoxication through the eye than had previously been taken through the mouth.

A PROPER ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT WOULD PROVIDE FOR FIGHTING INTEMPERANCE, IMPURITY, GAMBLING AND SUNDAY DISSIPATION AS FOUR SIDES OF ONE FROWNING FORTRESS, THAT IS FIRING FROM ALL SIDES ON EVERY HOME, EVERY CHURCH, EVERY HONEST BUSINESS, AND SHOULD THEREFORE BE ATTACKED ON ALL SIDES BY ALL GOOD CITIZENS IN THE NAME OF CONSCIENCE AND OF COMMERCE.

If more reasons are needed for a broadening of temperance societies to include kindred evils in their attack, or for a broadening of the ideas at least of temperance specialists that they may see that temperance is but the main division of a great army of social reform, I have 559,185,000 additional reasons, which I shall now proceed to give, for not believing that prohibition, even with total abstinence added, will produce a social millennium. I refer to the millions of Hindus, Buddhists and Mohammedans, who, except as white men have corrupted a few of them, have been under the absolute prohibition of their religions for centuries, with none of our exceptions for drug stores or "original packages," and yet, right along with the most perfect prohibition and the most absolute

abstinence the world has known, have flourished impurity, polygamy, slavery and tyranny. Manifestly prohibition is not what a Kansas doctor, in one of its hotels, claimed in his sign to be, "A specialist in all chronic diseases." Abstinence has been of vast benefit to these peoples, saving them from a deeper poverty and degradation than they now suffer, and Britain has been foolish as well as wicked to break down this great virtue for paltry license fees that hurt politically and commercially as well as morally. But no one, in the light of this age-long experiment upon millions of people, can reasonably hold the view that to "get right" on prohibition is to get rid of about all our social wrongs. As some can lead a division but not an army, so there are many who can do their best work for God and man by devoting themselves to one reform; but the Church of God as a whole, in every city and in every nation and in the world at large should be organized to attack the whole "far-flung battle line" that fights unitedly the world over under the mighty triumvirate of appetite, lust and greed.

DESERTION NOT A SCRIPTURAL OR REASONABLE GROUND OF DIVORCE.

It should arouse Presbyterians to find in the government report on divorce that "desertion," which the Confession adds to the one ground of divorce that Christ gave, is the most frequent and the most

abused excuse for divorce. Apparently, because Paul said to Christians newly converted from heathenism that if their mates left them on that account they should let them go, the "Westminster divines" leaped to the conclusion that they were free to get married again despite Christ's plain word to the contrary; that is, a permission for voluntary separation is treated as a permission for absolute divorce. This Presbyterian error hinders the divorce reform plan of the churches' union divorce committee, and keeps in the rear rank on this reform the denomination which, as I shall show, leads all in the land in recognizing temperance and labor reform as branches of missionary work. It seems impossible to get even a discussion of needed sociological revision of the creed in this vital matter. When the Reform Bureau was promoting a divorce bill for the District of Columbia, which embodied the law of Christ, with re-marriage allowed only in cases of adultery and only to the innocent party, the writer appealed to the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian ministers' meetings of Philadelphia to endorse it. The Methodists and Baptists did so unanimously, and the Presbyterian preachers heard the same appeal with manifest signs of general approval, but it was recalled that the Confession allowed absolute divorce for desertion, and the bill was committed to a committee for quiet burial—a case where the "dead hand" kept a great church out of a successful battle to crown

Christ by making his law the law of the nation's Capital.

THE REMEDIES FOR LAX DIVORCE.

The remedy for divorce must include more than law, and must go deeper than law, starting with reverent sex lessons taught by experts in the schools. It is too delicate a subject for bunglers, even though they be parents, and it is worse than useless to urge every parent to unveil the sacred mysteries of sex. It is like work on a costly vase where every touch must be one of masterful psychology. When young people of marriageable age are so taught, and cease to talk of marriage as "midway between a joke and a crime," we shall have reached the deep roots of the divorce evil. The law is also our schoolmaster, as the Bible reminds us, and the mightiest lesson on the sacredness of marriage for old and young is the law of Christ on the statute books, proclaiming that marriage is more than an experimental contract—a sacred union that can be dissolved only by death, or by that criminal lust that murders love.

To make the laws of Christ the laws of this world is the way to make Christ the King of this world. That is what legislative work signified to Dr. Frances E. Willard, who opened the very holy of holies of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union when she said, "Our absorbing purpose is to make Christ King of our camps and courts and commerce." Whenever some fraction of the law of

Christ is made an act of government, legislative or executive, let us count it but one more gem set in the earthly crown of Christ, and sing,

"Bring forth the royal diadem
And crown Him Lord of all."

II.

LYNCHINGS, LABOR RIOTS AND MUNICIPAL MISRULE.

The unity in these three national perils is that they all imperil not only or chiefly person and property, but the very foundations of government and civilization, and so are *kindred to treason.* To appeal to "Judge Lynch," or to share in a riot, or corrupt a city government is as much worse than common murder as was the act of Benedict Arnold, which everybody remembers when every murderer of his day is forgotten.

A lynching should always be considered not as an attack on some one person—usually one poor and defenseless—but as an attack on the whole community. It is anarchy in a worse form than even the assassination of a king, for it stabs popular government to the heart. It enthrones the mob, which is worse than absolute monarchy.

The excuses commonly made for lynching will none of them stand the test of facts. Even President Roosevelt once voiced the fallacy that lynching is born of leniency. But it is just in those cases where the penalty is severest, and surest to be inflicted, that the lynchings have been most frequent and most barbarous. The usual legal penalty for rape in the southern states is death, and there is no danger that a negro will escape justice

by the tricks known to high-priced lawyers. The leniency that is most closely related to lynching is leniency in punishing lynchers for their willful murders.

Lynching is one of the offenses of which Americans have almost a monopoly. In no other nation of the world does "Judge Lynch" execute more than all the civilized courts. In 1908 the number legally executed in the whole nation was but 92, the number lynched was 100, of whom all but seven were negroes, and all but three were lynched in the south, and only 12 for "assault" and 12 more for "attempted assault." Murder was the reason assigned in 34 cases. With moral certainty that the negro murderer would be swiftly tried, and if found guilty surely executed, the mob itself committed murder, manifestly not to satisfy a "sense of justice" but a brutal thirst for blood and vengeance, suggesting how thin is the veneering we have as yet put on the white savagery of our European ancestors.

There are in the south many strong voices demanding the extinction of lynching and a return to the old Anglo-Saxon sense of respect for law and order, and the best help that those of other sections can render is to recognize and re-enforce these tribunes of civilization.

LABOR RIOTS IN THE NORTH

often differ from a southern "lynching bee" only in that their destruction of life and property is whole-

sale rather than retail. I do not forget that labor is often wronged, but there is no excuse for bullets when labor has thousands of ballots against the few in the hand of the masters. Why do not American workmen do as wiser labor forces have done in Great Britain and Australia—send manly representatives to legislatures and work out their own salvation by the orderly processes of law? Returning from Australia, where five million dollars of added wages had just been awarded to the sheep-shearers by the courts, it seemed like barbarism to encounter labor riots at Vancouver and just across our line in the state of Washington, and at Butte to find it impossible to telephone because of a strike. The giant Public is choked by pigmy Labor on one shoulder and pigmy Capital on the other to compel him to take sides in what has long been ingenuously called "the struggle of Capital and Labor," when it would be more accurate to call it strangulation of the public by capital and labor, for there are three parties involved, and it is about time the largest should insist that its stranglers shall settle their quarrels at the ballot box and in the courts as other countries have learned to do. The thirty labor members of the British Parliament unitedly pledge themselves to abstinence during their Parliamentary service, and vote solidly against intoxicating drinks and opium, standing not for one class but for justice to all. When the writer spoke in Adelaide, South Australia, the Labor Premier, Hon. Thomas Price, who had helped as a stone-cutter to build the

capitol in which he governed, presided fearlessly at an anti-gambling, anti-alcohol meeting. I called the attention of Speaker Thomas B. Reed, of the United States House of Representatives, when interviewing him with a labor deputation in behalf of an Industrial Commission on which labor was to be represented, to the strange fact that while labor had influential delegations in the Parliament of the British monarchy and in Australian parliaments, there was not one "representative" of labor, elected as such, in even the popular House of our republic. With mock indignation he exclaimed, "Don't you know we are all champions of labor when we are not championing the soldier?" Labor must learn to defend its true interests by sending some John Burns to the House, some Shaftsbury to the Senate, for the "strike," which *per se* is only a united refusal to work when no contract is in the way, in reality is often a violation of contract, and is almost never free from some form of intimidation, and in such cases is a belated survival of barbarism that "must go." And capital must also be held to just dealings by the courts.

THE SHAME OF OUR CITIES.

In reality the quieter crimes of municipal misrule are worse than lynching and labor riots by so much as a chronic disease is worse than "a fit of sickness." A recent writer has condensed the sickening revelations of boodling and graft that with painful same-

ness have been uncovered by investigations in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco and many other cities, into one black sentence, "Our cities are ruled by organized criminals," and of the two sets into which these criminals are divided, "the peasant saloonkeepers from Europe" who run our city councils and take bribes, and the rich American owners of public utilities who bribe them, the latter are by far the worse.

In this whole matter of municipal misrule our country is immeasurably the worst of all. No utterance is quoted with such frequency and unanimity when our patriotic business men gather from all over the land for national municipal reform conventions, as the words of Hon. Andrew D. White, who knew Europe well as American ambassador to several foreign courts: "The worst governed city of Europe is better governed than the best governed city of America." The saying is usually applied to the big cities, but the writer in twenty-one years of almost constant travel, with "six beds a week" in his reform lecture schedule three-fourths of the time, has found the smaller cities about as bad as the big ones—the mayor usually bad, or goodish, or goody, or good for nothing, like the people that elected him by sins of omission or commission; the police walking like blind men in the midst of open and habitual violations of law by saloons and shows and newsdealers; the merchants afraid of a boycott more than of the ruin of their boys; the

preachers, save a brave few—mostly in small churches—"dumb dogs" while their flocks are being decimated by wolves; the fighting of evil left by unmanly men in the churches largely to a few women, God's rich poor, of the divine order of the white ribbon. Speaker Reed, whom I have already quoted, said to me one day, when the unspeakable government of New York was being revealed with its hands filled with the harlot's gold: "You would be surprised to know how many respectable men want a city to have such a government that they can take a day off now and then to go to hell, and not be molested."

In a national municipal reform convention at Cleveland, I remember how almost every delegate seemed to be claiming that his city was most misruled of all; but the foot of the class was unanimously awarded to Cincinnati on the story of one of its delegates that the city "boss," finding it hard to persuade a citizen to be his candidate for mayor, carried his point by saying, "If you will stand, *you may name your opponent.*" That is not the only city where a corrupt ring, with bi-partisan positions to trade with, has controlled both machines. The worst obstacle to municipal reform is that so many even in the churches consider that the city's business and politics and pleasures belong to the devil by "squatter sovereignty," not having so much as heard that there is a "holy city coming down from God out of heaven." When I telegraphed that I was coming to speak on that theme on an Easter evening in a

Nebraska city, the telegraph operator having occasion to telephone it to the preacher, and having the usual conviction as to the devil's mortgage on the city, sent it in this wise: "The theme for Sunday night is 'The Holy City,' and Crafts is coming down." One of the eccentricities of our city government is that a majority of the "dry" towns I have visited have had "wet" mayors. The people order the wolves out of the fold, and then appoint one or more wolves to execute the order. This comes of dragging national politics into city elections, which might as appropriately be fought on the candidates' views of the canals of Mars.

There was something of a "reform wave" in law enforcement in 1907 and 1908, largely due, as a Democratic mayor in the west said to me, to the example of the chief executive, President Roosevelt, but it was only a "wave," and not much of a wave at that. The radical remedy for the misrule of our cities, I believe, is not in organizing another government within the government in the form of a law and order league, that seeks to enforce law with both criminals and officials in opposition, but in the stern exclusion of national politics from city elections and the union of all clean men for a clean city.

III.

SABBATH DESECRATION, IMPURE SHOWS AND YELLOW JOURNALISM.

There is small comfort in the fact that we have found at last two evils in which some other nations are as badly off as ourselves. France, even though it adopted a Sunday law in 1907, forbidding general traffic on that day, allows amusement venders and all dissipations full play, including Sunday horse races, which our "smart set" abroad ostentatiously patronize, in rank disloyalty to what DeTocqueville considered the most distinctive American institution. This disloyalty is appearing of late in the nation's capital also, where very high American officials are adopting the continental custom of Sunday dinner parties. What is worse, there is no chorus of fearless rebukes from pastors or religious press. This is not surprising for with many preachers custom has taken the place of conscience. For example, the Presbyterian General Assembly that gathered in New York filled appointments all about New York by Sunday trains. If a church with Scotch roots does this, what need to tell what other do! It was a Baptists preacher, then in Baltimore, who in introducing me on a Sunday night to speak on Sabbath observance, told his people he had come all the way from Annapolis (where he had preached in the morning) to hear my dis-

course on Sabbath reform—which proved to be chiefly against Sunday trains. In Los Angeles, having on a Saturday persuaded a leading citizen, whose guest I was, to accept the next day the presidency of a new Sabbath association, he met me as I came to the parlor before breakfast with the stately grace of a gentleman of the old school and presented me the Sunday paper as a fitting courtesy for the new president of the Sabbath association to extend to the lecturer on Sabbath reform. Had his mind been alert he would have seen that with a Sunday paper in his hand he could not consistently condemn any form of Sunday work or traffic or amusement; for it represents the work of professional men, the editors; of skilled mechanics, the printers; of carriers, the trainmen and expressmen; of merchants, the newsdealers; of hucksters, the newsboys; of amusement venders, being sold in large part for amusement.

Here is the answer to the shallow claim that "it is the Monday paper that causes the most Sunday work." Possibly it does in *production,* though it need not, for Horace Greeley made the best Monday paper this country has ever seen with no Sunday work, save in two years of the Civil War when he issued a Sunday edition as a "war measure"; but it is the *distribution* of a metropolitan paper that requires by far the larger part of the work, and that part which most interferes with the rest and worship appropriate to this day of God and man.

While thousands of reformers are fighting intemperance, a half dozen Sabbath defenders are fighting some desperate rear guard skirmishes for that imperilled institution. Pastors should see that Sabbath defense is pre-eminently their job, though it is scarcely less the job of the true champions of labor. No one talks of a Sabbath reform "wave," and other reforms cannot long gain while this loses, for the Sabbath is the spiritual "water supply" of all moral forces.

It is said that a Hebrew commercial traveller, on finding no churches in the town which he had just entered for business, left by the first train, refusing to sell to any customer on credit in such a place. Every leader of morals and of statesmanship recognizes the meaning of such a story, namely, that the Church is the chief of police, and must be relied upon more than any and all other forces for the development of honesty and other personal and social virtues.

The Church therefore has a right to appeal to the state to remove all unnecessary obstacles to the fundamental work which it is expected to do, the production of honesty and good morals; and particularly has the Church a right to insist on the enforcement of Sunday laws, usually far from strict, when such violations, as in case of Sunday bar-rooms, draw away from the churches the very element of the population most needing moral influence, not alone to save their souls in heaven, but to save them from vice and crime.

Every citizen who believes that the influence of the Church on the whole tends to diminish crime and promote social welfare should in some way co-operate with the Church. It is no doubt largely because this aspect of the case has been overlooked that so many reputable citizens have entirely deserted the churches. It should be remembered when the temptation to desert the churches is strongest, in the summer, that these months are the very ones when vice and crime reach their high tide; and surely neither the individual citizen nor the state can afford to neglect any means to better this serious condition, not alone for God's sake, but for man's sake. In all seasons of the year for social welfare, if for no other reason, a good citizen should be a church-goer, and the state should enforce the laws.

WHITE SLAVERY.

We are not the worst country in the world in impurity, but we must turn to dying France again to find a worse case among the nations of Christendom.

Great interest has been aroused by monstrous revelations of systematic traffic in girls, and national and even international law is being enacted against this "white slavery." But the radical reformer will remember that few women can be thus enslaved against their determined resistance, and reflect that the effective remedy must be applied to the foul shows and corrupt literature and street roving at night by which our youth are chiefly seduced.

Here again is a reform for whose promotion there is no adequate organization outside the churches.* Nor should this safeguarding of the children of our Sunday schools be shirked by their regular "guardians."

In Detroit, almost opposite three of the largest churches, Methodist, Baptist and Episcopal, in a newsroom window that hundreds of the children of those congregations regularly passed and repassed going to and returning from Sunday school, and many of them on week days also, I saw magazines and papers whose obscenity had been more than once condemned by the courts, which a word from one of the pastors or Sunday school superintendents or teachers might have removed months before, as they were removed that day by a brief word of mine. Right opposite a Presbyterian church in a New England city I saw some of these foul periodicals such as are excluded from all railway lines, that were calculated to do the children of its Sunday school more harm coming and going than they could sandwich good between. In a Pennsylvania city I saw such papers and magazines exposed in a church basement that had been rented for a newsroom. I have even found it necessary to ask the removal of such mental poison from two religious book stores, and from one rented from a religious association, and yet more frequently from shops kept by pro-

*The strongest purity organizations are the National Purity Federation, H. B. Treadwell, President, La Crosse, Wis., and the National Vigilance Committee, Dr. O. Edward Janney, Chairman, Baltimore, Md.

fessedly Christian men. In cleaning the newsrooms in a Pennsylvania town—my usual Saturday night recreation—I found as proprietor in one place the Sunday school superintendent of a Methodist church where I was to speak the next day—not a wilfully bad man but one of those who use the head only for a hat rack. He had sold anything and everything the news company sent him, never asking what its effect would be upon young or old. In another city the two newsdealers who were corrupting the youth and would not stop, even when appealed to, were Baptists, whose pastor lacked the nerve to compel them to desist or do their evil work outside the church. In another case I found it necessary to clean out twice the book store kept by the clerk of the First Presbyterian Church. Worse than that, in one city the wholesale agency which supplied the literature to book stores and newsrooms that many a criminal's confession has shown to be the seed of vice and crime, was managed by a firm made up of a Presbyterian elder and an officer of a Methodist city evangelization society. They confessed that the sale of foul literature was unpleasant business, and wished someone would, by a case in court, compel the national company of which they were agents to cease sending the vile stuff, but they lacked the courage to risk the loss of a lucrative business by refusing to be panderers to passion, and their pastors and the public lacked courage to "make it hard for them to do wrong."

It should be said that "the arrest of thought" is usually all that is necessary to clean a town of this corrupting literature, for the profits in selling it are so small, and the penalties are so large, that when the latter are brought to notice, few dealers will take such large risks for such small gains. And in many cases, too, "evil is wrought for want of thought" because few know or seem to care what the law is, or what is bought even by youth in the the sensitive age of adolescence.

But the most amazing neglect of "home protection" by child guardians in home and church and public schools is the toleration of the current theatrical plays and picture shows. The former the Chicago Tribune has said were "never so bad since the age of the Stuarts." Archbishop Farley has declared them to be the worst public exhibitions since the fall of Rome. During the months of January and February, 1910, the children's committee of the Humane Society, of Cleveland, Ohio, conducted a personal investigation of moving picture shows in that representative city. They report that 40 per cent of the films shown are objectionable from the standpoint of child psychology. The committee, composed of Rev. Worth M. Tippy, Father Francis T. Moran, Police Prosecutor Cull, Jas. R. Garfield, ex-Secretary of the Interior, President Howe, of Case School, Matilda L. Johnson, of the Visiting Nurse Association, and Drs. W. H. Kinnicutt, Frances Konrad and R. A. Bolt, obtained detailed written reports on 75 moving picture shows.

In all 250 different films were seen. The 40 per cent of objectionable matter was distributed as follows:

Stealing ..... 13.4 per cent
Murder ..... 13.1 per cent
Drunkenness ..... 13.1 per cent
Indecent suggestion ..... 8.2 per cent
Housebreaking ..... 7.2 per cent
Loose ideals of marriage..... 6.5 per cent
Domestic infidelity ..... 5.8 per cent
Vicious mischief ..... 5.8 per cent
Suicide in three films. Kidnapping in two films.

In three instances, cases of the illegal employment of children in theatrical exhibitions were found. It was also found that indecent or vulgar suggestions were liable to appear in connection with illustrated songs or vaudeville features.

Sanitation in 50 per cent of the places was reported not good, the most common fault being poor ventilation.

The total audience of these plates in the evenings at the time visited, amounted to 10,000, of whom 2100 or 20 per cent, were estimated to be children under 18 years of age.

The failure to protect our young against these attacks on their innermost life falls short of the instinct of beasts, and is the more incredible because the reform of shows is the easiest, simplest, quickest of all reforms, inasmuch as the mayor or burgess of every town has absolute control of all exhibitions, as numerous newspaper instances have reminded

every man and woman who can read. In the face of the fact that every mayor could close any show, and would if a few pastors and parents insisted on it —indeed often acts on the plea of a passing stranger—these schools of vice and crime go on, offering trips to hell for the nickel every child in these days has at hand to use as he will, while Sunday school teachers chatter by the hour over picnics and Christmas trees and pink sociables. It is not Nero this time but Aquilla and Priscilla that are "fiddling while Rome burns."

YELLOW JOURNALISM.

The harm wrought by the type of sensational journalism that the world considers distinctively American is less sudden but more subtle than that of literature which boldly appeals to lust. The journal which is generally considered to be most representative of this type of newspapers, has in several lucid intervals which have seemed almost golden, suggested what a great syndicate of papers backed by millions might do for civic righteousness by its fearless attacks on cigarettes and Mormon polygamy and race gambling and the liquor traffic, against which last it hurled for years a series of cartoons and editorials unequalled in any daily paper of the world—whose teachings, alas, have since been belied by equally earnest advocacy of the other side. There are other yellow journals that have never for a day suggested gold but always dross. The excuse made by The Daily St. Vitus and The Daily Epilep-

tic for their frantic type and "much ado about nothing," for their prying gossip and reeking scandals, is that they are inducing people to read who never read before. The claim reminds us of the quack doctor who could cure nothing but fits, and when a patient came with some other disease he proposed to throw him into fits and so get him around to a cure. This epileptic journalism, "erotic, neurotic and tommyrotic," is getting on the nation's nerves and may presently be expected to get a name and a microbe all to itself as a national disease. It is no trifling matter to have truth and fact trifled with in the telling of every day's history to millions of people, young and old. It is a very serious matter that the grand lessons of great histories are left unread by the vast majority of our people because of the newsboy's incessant and imperative appeal to their curiosity. It is like substituting red peppers for bread and meat in a nation's daily diet.

But it is not enough to denounce trashy literature. The professional men of literary culture in a town should set themselves to allure the people to the pure and popular books, never so numerous as now, which could be done by popular talks on such books, with winsome extracts, every Saturday evening at the public library.

IV.

BRUTAL SPORTS, JUDICIAL MALADMINISTRATION, GRAFT, AND GENERAL LAWLESSNESS.

The relation to each other of these four clouds in our national sky may not be apparent at first, but nearly all our prize fights have been flagrant violations of law, which have nevertheless been permitted not only by executives catering to the brutal vote, but also, in some cases, by judges who have pretended to see only a boxing match in what everybody else knew was a prize fight. And the maladministration of courts is yet more scandalous when it is not in the interest of a sporting club looking for dollars, but a "trust" or "ring" of millionaire grafters controlling government for their own enrichment rather than for the public good. These things together break down respect for law, and open the way for habitual law-breaking by citizens, and habitual non-enforcement of law by officials. "Graft" is the only one of these four evils in which our nation is not the worst, and we must go outside of Christendom to graft-cursed China for a worse case.

THREE FIGHTS WITH PUGILISTS.

It will be instructive to introduce here three pugilistic events in which the writer was himself an un-

announced fighter. In 1897, when pugilists had been driven from state to state until they seemed to have reached their last ditch in Nevada, the writer, on the announcement of the Carson fight, swiftly drew a bill to prohibit interstate transmission of descriptions and pictures of prize fights, and immediately presented it to the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the House of Representatives, with the result that the bill in manuscript and a favorable report on it reached the public printer on the same day, February 25, 1897. Senator Geo. F. Hoar also put the bill through the Senate Judiciary Committee in one week, but with the press limitations omitted, so that it only forbade interstate transmission of prize fight pictures. This news as to both bills was at once given to the press of the whole country, that a million men of the "Church militant" might support this prompt action of the Congressional committees with an irresistible volley of letters, which would overcome the opposition of the press to this damming up of brutal news, or at least prevent the reproduction of the fight in moving pictures all over the land.

Does the reader remember how every American pastor, on the Sunday night following, and again at the next prayer meeting, told his people the news, and how from the one-third of the nation on the church rolls—one-half of the adults—there went so many petitions, letters, telegrams and deputations to senators and congressmen that the first and

strongest bill was swept through to enactment in spite of the press?

That is what should have happened, but not a shot for either bill that was not called for by a personal letter or petition form really came. Of preachers appealed to in such crises not more than a tenth respond, and many of them not until appeal after appeal has been sent, at great cost of time and money by the reform pickets at the front. Those who preach of courageous ancient prophets and apostles, when such an opportunity comes to translate the old Bible into a modern book of Acts, in the majority of cases, are too busy tithing their mint, anise and cummin, to attend to these "weightier matters of the law."*

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*When the bill to prohibit liquor selling in Pacific Islands having no civilized governments was pending in Congress, and another bill to prohibit liquor selling in government buildings, and other bills for Sunday rest and divorce reform and protection of girls, all lagging for lack of petitions and letters from the people, the writer remembered that Methodist presiding elders and district superintendents would visit every county and almost every town in the nation in their quarterly tour of churches, and so sent them petitions for these foreign and home missionary bills, with the suggestion that they could do a great Christian and patriotic service and at the same time illustrate the civic value of Methodist polity by devoting a few moments in each meeting they should hold to getting one or more petitions voted for these pending bills. About a thousand men could thus, without any expense in money and little in time, inform and arouse and express public sentiment all over the land, and assure the election of these great measures, that would make it "harder to do wrong and easier to do right" for a hundred years. Just one presiding elder responded with a promise to do as suggested, but I saw no evidence that he carried out his

plan. The others did not even reply. And efforts to reach the same end by sending petitions to the bishops had little better success. And in 1910, three thousand letters sent to the "Pastor of the First Methodist Church" in each of the three thousand county seats of the United States, with petition blanks enclosed for voted endorsements of the Burkett-Sims anti-gambling bill and the McCumber-Tirrell and Johnson temperance bills, to be endorsed by vote, brought in two months just sixteen responses. To these and many others fifteen thousand sets of petition forms were sent, but two months later only eighty had been received of these and all other forms for all of these important bills. No church is more interested in reforms than the Methodist, and so these facts are typical of the neglect of civic duties by the churches at large. Of the 174 American denominations hardly more than four have even a small representation in the Congressional Record's published list of petitions, as any one can see by spending an hour making a tally of a representative month. Nor is there any comfort to be found in the hope that the people are doing better in letters and telegrams. When race gamblers had captured the Pennsylvania Legislature and secured a unanimous vote on second reading for a bill to license gambling as a monopoly of New York and Philadelphia milionaires, who would be enriched at the cost of morals and legitimate commerce alike if the bill should become a law, an appeal to the "President of the First National Bank" in every city of the State and to the Y. M. C. A. Secretary and W. C. T. U. President and to pastors to telegraph or write the governor, brought only 81 letters and twelve telegrams. Many of those who criticise Congress for not passing moral measures are themselves at fault, for they have never voted their fraction of public sentiment for any moral measure whatever, and Congress naturally reasons that a bill for which there is no expressed public sentiment hasn't sufficient public sentiment behind it to secure enforcement if it were passed. More than twenty years of reform work has burned into the writer an ever-deepening conviction that the supreme reform is to convince pastors and churches that moral reform is not merely an incidental but a *fundamental part of the church's duty,* and should be so recognized all the way from the Sunday school and theological seminary to the foregn missionary field.

The opposition of the press was so terrifying to congressmen in this case that the man who introduced the bill was twice missing when there was opportunity to pass it. Again he sat at his desk with his head in his hands as if pondering retreat. From the galleries the writer watched the electric effect of two telegrams he had wired the preachers' meeting and Young Men's Christian Association of his home city to send him. The first one brought his head up, the second gave him a battle face. But most of the congressmen got no telegrams from Christian constituents to steady them against the lightning that was pouring in from their home papers, determined not to lose the inane mouthings of the pugilists. The bill was sure to pass if it came to a vote, and it was "the order of the day," which nothing could displace except appropriation bills. But those who were then—some of them are still—leaders of the House, moved to adjourn whenever this bill was reached and no appropriation bill was available to displace it, as the Congressional Record for the closing days of March, 1897, will show. And while the oft-adjourning House waited for some appropriation bill to come back from the Senate, one of these party leaders led in singing, what in such case was no better than swearing,

"Our father's God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing."

Some one called these dodgers "the House of Cowards," but they were literally the House of Representatives—fairly representing a majority even of church members, who showed no zeal for that measure of civic righteousness, and as a result pugilism has since flooded the whole country.

I am glad to follow this story of the churches defeated, which was partly due to the fact that they had not been sufficiently taught the practical and social side of their duty, with another story in which the churches acquitted themselves more worthily. As the former incident shows "how not to do it," this one shows how the sovereign citizen may bring to book even a rebel mayor.

The prize fighters, banished from every city or state where decent government was in the saddle, had selected the city of St. Paul as a safe place to break the law, and the sporting club in charge, with two leading editors as its chief officers, had erected a great pavilion and put up a guarantee of $3000 that the mayor would not enforce the law. He had allowed Sunday games and Sunday theaters and Sunday saloons to trample on the law so long that it seemed to be time for the lawlessness to overflow into the other days of the week. On the Saturday before the appointed festival of anarchy a handful of good citizens met and decided that some word of protest should go to the world, lest it should be thought that St. Paul's rebellion against the state laws was "by unanimous consent." They decided to call a citizens' protest meeting for

Monday night. I had an appointment to speak on the "Imperiled Sabbath" on Sunday night in the First Presbyterian Church, at a union service of leading churches. The fact that lawlessness can not be allowed on Sunday without jeopardizing law and order on other days was emphasized, and pastors present urged their people to make "a demonstration in force" on Monday night. It had seemed up to Saturday night that no one cared what laws were broken, or at any rate that no one dared to object. But on Monday night, in the city's largest hall, the quiet "seven thousand that had not bowed the knee to Baal," the "plain people" who suddenly become a political "landslide" just when evil seemed to have crushed them out, were on hand, and the air was electric with courage. Men who had thoughtlessly participated in lawless Sunday games and shows, some of whom, no doubt, were also eager readers of the literary effusions of the pugilists in the sporting pages of the daily press, now that the issue was raised, were on the side of law. Resolutions, enthusiastically adopted, repudiated the mayor who had consented to lawlessness, and appealed to Governor Meriam to take charge of the city. And the governor, though himself said to be of sporting proclivities, and though his own partner held the stakes in his own bank, ordered the sheriff, as the state's officer and the superior officer of the mayor in charge of the whole county, to prevent the fight. The sheriff in terror replied, "I would not dare to interpose without a thousand

men." "You shall have them," said the governor. "Adjutant, call out the regiment." The mayor had threatened to fight the sheriff with his three thousand police, but as he saw the soldiers hurrying to their armory he thought better of his proposed rebellion; and that study in civics showing the relative powers of mayor, sheriff and governor, was completed in the early evening of the day set for the fight, when the soldiers marched through the streets and camped for the night in the pavilion that had been erected for a temple of anarchy. The writer's part in this "knock out" of pugilism was but slight, and even the governor's part was secondary, for it was aroused Christian citizenship that won the day.*

A third battle with pugilism, representative of many others, is at this writing a drawn battle. In Honolulu, in 1908, brutal pugilistic exhibitions were allowed by the district attorney to go on unchecked in spite of courteous appeals and vigorous protests of the preachers and other good citizens. The district attorney, while prosecuting criminals in the United States courts made a specialty in private practice of defending Chinese criminals in the Ter-

*Public opinion has not yet won in the country at large in the war on pugilism nor has it fully won its fight against the wholesale brutality of football. The Central Christian Advocate, Jan. 12, 1910, gave this football record of manslaughter for sport in nine years, the first figure given in each case being the killed, the second the injured: 1901, 7, 74; 1902, 15, 106; 1903, 14, 63; 1904, 14, 296; 1905, 24, 200; 1906, 14, 160; 1907, 15, 166; 1908, 10, 272; 1909, 30, 300.

ritorial courts, a thing so manifestly incongruous that it became a great scandal, especially when in a famous case the district attorney was at the same time the official prosecutor and private attorney of the same man. This matter was brought to the attention of the Roosevelt administration by Rev. E. W. Thwing, then the all-around reform leader of Honolulu, and long and costly investigation resulted in the resignation of this district attorney and the nomination by President Roosevelt, in the last hours of his term of office, of a successor satisfactory to the moral leaders of Hawaii, whose name, however, came before the Senate too late for confirmation—with a senator in opposition—before the inauguration of his successor. No sooner had the new administration come in than the new Attorney General asked the accused district attorney to withdraw his resignation. He continued in office and the pugilists continued their brutalizing exhibitions. This illustrates how even a president finds it difficult to apply good theories when powerful political influence blocks the way. But President Taft's oft-repeated declaration that "the administration of the criminal law in this country is a disgrace to our civilization" is nevertheless a reinforcement to the battle for court reform. This he asks Congress to cure by some law to correct the delays and defects of federal court procedure, but he should know from long experience in the courts that he can do still more for court reform by appointing strong judges and faithful district attorneys, who will use

their full powers to correct abuses. Especially should he make it a condition of every appointment as district attorney that the incumbent shall not engage in private practice. The Clayton bill (pending in Congress as we go to press) would do that by law. And the president might well put in gold for presentation to all new judges, the dictum of an Indiana judge, who had before him a flagrant evasion of a new anti-gambling law, forbidding racing for more than fifteen days a year on any track. A racing association, which had previously raced forty-five days a year on one track, bought additional land and developed three tracks, all in sight of each other, and all owned by the same men, though incorporated under three different names, with the offices shifted about. They raced fifteen days on each track, forty-five in all, as before—a manifest plot to nullify the law. The attorney for the defense protested that the court had no right to assume from these proved facts that any fraud was intended. To which the judge replied: "There is nothing in the law requiring a judge to abdicate his common sense."

GRAFT WORSE THAN PUGILISM.

Apparently many judges who allow such tricks to defeat justice need to have that decision brought to their attention, especially those who have to deal with lawyers who sell their talents to rich grafters to keep their stealings within the letter of the law.

In the first convention of the National Federation

of Churches (The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States) I drafted in the lobby all the ethical resolutions adopted on gambling, impurity and "graft." When the word "graft" was read, some one in the audience objected that it was slang, and some other word should be substituted; but the bishops and leaders of nineteen millions of church members could find no substitute. "Graft" is the brand of Cain, not on boodling or bribery, not on any violation of law, but on the deep crime against society of using public office as a "private snap" rather than a "public trust." When the citizens' personal ballots as well as public offices are regarded as patriotic trusts by our youth, under faithful teaching, we shall have cut the roots of the most subtle treason.

THE NATIONAL HABIT OF LAW BREAKING.

Law-breaking is so common that an audience is startled and surprised when told how many things that are going on openly every day are plain violations of law. For example, Sunday trains and Sunday papers usually were at the start, and many of them are still, violations of law. When the reformer whose testimony is being given to the grand jury of the public in this volume spoke in the Pennsylvania Legislature in defense of the best of the Sabbath laws, the distinguished editors of Philadelphia Sunday papers most ingenuously plead with the legislature to legalize what they were doing, so confessing publicly that it was a crime, and yet they

intimated no purpose to obey the law if the legislature should decide to continue it, but rather that in any case expected to go on with their weekly violations of law just the same. When I was in the Adirondacks, summering in the same bark camp with the family of an eminent judge, the question was raised one day whether it were not the "closed season" for certain fish, at which the jurists' household, in chorus, protested against looking up the matter. And the forest warden and constable shortly came into camp bringing a young doe they had illegally killed in the closed season for deer, while themselves policing the forest to prevent others from doing the same. On a visit to Columbus, Ohio, I inquired at the city hall about a curfew law, of whose enactment there by the city council I had read months before. The city officers had to look it up in the books, for it had never been enforced, and on reporting all this in a church and asking how many parents had enforced it, I learned that this wise law had been generally disobeyed because no policeman's club had compelled the children of Christians to observe it.

In our cities we might well omit all other planks from the municipal platform for a year or two except the one old Anglo-Saxon principle, "Obedience to law," which we cannot much longer neglect without very serious results. All laws should be enforced, that bad ones may be repealed, imperfect ones amended, and good ones utilized.

The thirteen clouds in our sky that I have discussed, and others to which I have referred, are not the whole list. There are no perils more serious than the fallen family altar, the childless family pew, and the failure of the Church to grip the lives of nine-tenths of our young men.

V.

CO-OPERATION OF CHURCH AND STATE TO REMOVE THE CLOUDS.

These clouds should be the "chief concern" of church and state, each in its appropriate sphere—the one now too much confined to individualism, the other to commercialism.

In the fifteen years since a "Christian lobby" was established at Washington, Congress has acted two hundred times in the interest of moral reform in small and large matters, counting votes of both Houses and votes also of committees and hearings granted and printed, on moral issues—a record unprecedented in any previous period, and due largely to the fact that reform legislation is no longer "nobody's business," but is looked after by legislative superintendents of the International Reform Bureau, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and the Good Templars.

But I should not be true to the facts if I gave the impression that anything like adequate attention is given by government, at Washington or elsewhere, to the great moral issues which history shows to be the real questions of life and death to nations. In all branches of American government money measures have the right of way, and moral measures are mostly side-tracked unless legislators can be assured that the battle has been fought out behind

the scenes, and the bill desired will go through with only a moment taken from commercialism. Our victories are mostly in amendments, the reformer's strategic use of the "side-door." Congress will generally vote right when it has to vote—let us be thankful for that—and so when a germane amendment in the interest of morals can be attached to some political or financial or military measure, it usually passes. By such flank movements, the District of Columbia divorce law, the Sabbath closing provisions for the St. Louis and Jamestown fairs, the first and second anti-canteen laws, the banishment of bars from immigrant stations and the capitol and the soldiers' homes, were all carried. The percentage of time given by Congress to morals is infinitesimal. In the legislative feast it is only a side dish. The Senate has no committee on morals, and the House only one, the last and least of all, the Committee on the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, made up mostly of new men who could not get on any other committee. A former chairman of that committee told the writer he "would rather be the tail end of the Appropriation Committee—he would walk to New York to get that promotion." The ruling passion found expression in a Washington elder's prayer, who having in mind Christ's sacrificial propitiation for our sins, thanked God he had *"made an appropriation for our sins."* Moral reform is treated by Congress as a distant, poor relation of politics that cannot be wholly ignored—must have a crumb now and then. As a defeated

candidate for the presidency put it, "We must occasionally pander to the religious element."

THE CHURCHES ONLY BEGINNING TO ADOPT MORAL REFORMS.

When the writer, in an address in 1903 to the New York Presbyterian ministers' meeting, gave the foregoing picture of moral reform sitting like Lazarus at the door of Congress, there was a broad smile that recalled the Pharisee's congratulation that he was "not as this publican." Whereupon I said: "The twin of that Temperance Committee of Congress is the Temperance Committee of the Presbyterian Assembly—less than the least of all its boards, whose annual meeting at the Assembly in this city last year, when doctrinal creed revision drew crowds, had only two Assembly commissioners in attendance, and only thirty-six in the whole audience."

When the same address was given the next week at the New York Baptist ministers' meeting, they smiled at Congress, and laughed at the Presbyterians. Whereupon I said: "The Presbyterian Church is the only one that has even a feeble Temperance Committee."

Since then the Presbyterian Committee has been much strengthened and now employs several strong lecturers, and maintains an influential office in Pittsburg; the Baptists have formed a Temperance Committee that supports one lecturer; and there are six other denominational committees that send out

some literature and are represented as constituents of the Interchurch Temperance Federation at its annual meeting—all of which slight recognitions that moral reform should be a regular branch of church work suggest that the Careys of today are laying the keel of another "forward movement."

The Christian Endeavor societies have long had a Christian Citizenship Committee—only the annex of an annex as yet. And a few of the local missionary societies have a "temperance secretary" to fight the chief obstacle to missions, the white man's rum and opium. And the battle against Mormon polygamy was led for years by the Woman's Home Missionary societies. By and by the new organizations of men in the churches will find "a man's job" in home protection. Savages, though they turn the hard work on the women, themselves do the fighting. We have been accustomed to put both the church work and the moral warfare on the women. When men's leagues make moral reform a regular branch of church work, the retreat of moral forces, which all the outside reform societies have been able only to slacken, will be turned into a retreat for the other side.

A country cemetery has the following notice over the gate:

"Only the dead who live in the parish are buried here."

Alas, there are "dead" that "live" in every parish. They must be awakened to the great duties of the hour. The church must take up the new tasks for

her own sake, as well as for God's sake, and the world's sake.

They say an ocean steamer will run five miles on momentum after the steam is turned off. That seems to be the way many churches are running just now. The old impulses are turned off, and new ones are not yet turned on. There are some preachers who need just such an awakening as occurred when a good old Methodist sister, whose pastor was about to leave, came to the parsonage in tears, to whom he said: "It's all right, Mother Smith; I shall go somewhere else and do good, and the Lord will send you a better preacher." At this her tears burst out afresh, and she exclaimed: "They've all said that for forty years, but *it gets worse every time.*"

The preacher who succeeded the writer in a Brooklyn pastorate, on meeting one of his parishioners, said, "How are you?" "Oh," said the layman, "I'm fairly well; nothing the trouble with me but corns; and I *never think of them except when I am in church and have nothing on my mind.*" Much of the "holy ambiguity" of current preaching is not interesting enough to practical men to keep their minds off their corns. Preachers must themselves get hold of the real meaning of life, and get it "on the minds" of their hearers.

The Independent gives a report annually of the work of all denominations, each written by a leading man of the denomination described. In a recent year I found in a careful reading of all these reports

not a word about anything done for morals save in the article on the Salvation Army. Some ethical work had been done in all churches, but in the opinion of their own leaders, "nothing to speak of."

Has the church no duty in defense of the family against lax divorce and polygamy, that it should be left mostly to outside societies, to which not one in a hundred Christians contribute? Should it not be a part of the churches' work to defend the Sabbath unitedly, since their very life depends on preserving the day?

The Seventh Day Adventists, sixty-one thousand in number, impelled by the belief that the United States, by enacting a Sunday law for the national Capital such as is in force in all the States except California, would become "the third beast" of Revelation 13, were in January, 1910, sending to Congress more petitions against the Johnston Sunday bill than all the thirty-five million members of other churches were sending in behalf of that and all other bills.

Is not the removal of the chief obstacles to missions, liquors and opium, a primary concern of the church?

A century ago foreign missions had no regular place in the schedules of church work and benevolence. In a hundred years it will be as much a subject of wonder that at the opening of the twentieth century, with moral perils all about our Christian homes, most of the churches failed to

recognize moral reform as a branch of missions—of foreign missions, of home missions, of city missions.

GET RIGHT WITH GOD—AND MAN.

Hitherto the Church has been chiefly absorbed in righting man's relation to God. It has assumed that if that was done, man's relations to his fellows would right themselves. Past and current history disproves this theory. Speaking on this subject, a few years ago in a Pennsylvania city, on the Sunday before election, the writer said: "The state that has not only the most religiousness but the most moral earnestness is the very one that is worst governed of all. I shall not say what state I refer to, but if I should make the statement in any part of the land, the audience would think of the very state of which you are thinking."

THE SUPREME REFORM IS TO ENLIST THE CHURCH IN REFORM.

Charity has been recognized in the Church from the first in the "poor collection." It is truly the Miriam, the elder sister in the household of faith. But the Moses, the strong young child of Christianity, is moral reform. He is still in the bulrushes. Pharaoh's daughter, the Government, has not yet taken him in, nor has his mother, the Church, brought him home; and God is saying to both, *"Take this child and nurse it for Me."*

There is encouragement for those who believe that decisive victories in reform wait on the church, in the

ethical action of the second convention of the National Federation of Churches, as compared with the first. In the first instance, as already stated, the writer was in attendance as a lobbyist, and he found unexpected resemblance between this religious congress and the political body in whose lobby he had been active for years. Besides the resolutions which he sent in on gambling, impurity and "graft," which were adopted, as there was no one to oppose them, resolutions were urged in behalf of Sunday observance, prohibition and divorce. These three were rejected, apparently with the idea that nothing ethical should be passed except by unanimous consent. A few backward churches, representing a million or so of the nineteen millions in the constituency of the Federation of Churches, were not yet prepared to endorse prohibition, and so that must be cast aside. The Presbyterians had two grounds of divorce, and so nothing must be said about the law of Christ on that subject. And the Seventh Day Baptists were in the organization (though representing but a fraction of 1 per cent of the constituency) and so nothing must be said about observing the Lord's Day, though it was then seriously imperilled both in its religious and civic aspects.

Those who had been hoping that the Federation of Churches might take up effectively the reform work which was far too great a task for the Gideon's band that were enlisted in reform societies, saw in this failure of the Federation to act on anything

except what all the churches were previously agreed upon, evidence that the outside societies, made up of front rank Christians of all churches, could not as yet, in the United States, turn over their ethical work to the churches.

But the second meeting of the Federation made a far better record in this matter and its declarations on social and moral lines were like bugle calls, especially the resolutions on the labor question and the temperance question—in the latter case pointing directly to total abstinence for the individual and total suppression of the saloon for the community. This meeting, with the still more pronounced action of the churches in Canada, where the period seems to be near when social reforms can all be turned over to the churches, suggests that the church will, during this twentieth century make as noble a record in reforms as it did in the nineteenth century in foreign missions.

CANADIAN CHURCHES LEADING IN MORAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

The story of the action of Canadian churches is most instructive. The Methodist Church first, and later the Presbyterian Church, organized what is called in the latter case a "Department of Moral and Social Reform," which aims to promote social ethics in all lines through an employed denominational secretary and well-supported offices. These "departments" in the various denominations of Canada are united in a "Council of Moral and Social Reform"

and in local councils, which, in the very name of the churches, conduct "No license" and anti-gambling campaigns.

One reason why this can be done in Canada is because energy is not so much wasted as in the United States in maintaining microscopic sectarian divisions. In contrast to 174 denominations in the United States, nearly all of the Canadian churches are consolidated in six great organizations. And they often co-operate—one instance being in providing interdenominational text books for training Sunday school teachers.

The main argument in favor of the union or federation of churches, or at least a system of comity, usually has been the waste caused by sectarian divisions in missionary work, both in home and foreign fields; but to the sociologist, one of the chief objections to multitudinous sects is that the struggle for life crowds out the struggle for the life of others. One reason why Canada excels in Sabbath observance is that the churches have more energy to spare for this important battle than in the United States where so many churches are struggling for existence because of needless sectarian divisions. In the absence of this diversion of energy, the Canadian Departments of Moral and Social Reform, in 1910 when this book went to press, were leading with good prospects of success, the national battle against race gambling, as they had previously carried to success a law prohibiting opium, and as they

expect to take care of the problem of the "white slave" traffic.*

The united churches would also have been able, through their Moral and Social Reform Departments, to take full charge of temperance and the Sabbath if vigorous "alliances" for these purposes had not been previously organized.

Lest some Canadians should be too proud or self satisfied it ought to be noted here, that with a better Sabbath and only one-fourth the per capita liquor consumption of the United States, Canada had in 1910 hardly begun to outlaw the saloon—Prince Edward Island being the only prohibition province. In 1909, Peterboro, a city of 17,000 population was the largest city that even ventured to try for "No license." It fell short of the three-fifths majority unreasonably required. Inasmuch as all the Canadian provinces except Quebec have declared by plebiscites for prohibition, it looks very much as if the politicians in Canada had been able to cheat the Christian voters even more than in the United States, where a less religious but more strenuous people have secured more and better temperance legislation—one of many proofs that people need not only to "get right with God" but also to get "grit and gumption."

*When the writer is asked for the best plan by which the churches and Christian societies of a city or town may unite for social regeneration—for developing the philanthropic hemisphere of religion—he answers promptly: "Write to the Council of Moral and Social Reform of Canada, Rev. J. G. Shearer, D. D., Secretary, Confederation Life Building, Toronto, for its plan of work for local councils."

VI.

CAUSES OF THE CLOUDS.

Whether the battle in the United States for social reform is to be carried on, as it should be, by the Church itself, or chiefly, for a while yet, by progressive Christians united in outside societies, the perils I have described must be faced, and increased efforts made to remove them. To escape the consequences of these evils we must study and remove the *causes*. Notwithstanding the familiarity of the proverb, "Prevention is better than cure," the preventive work of reform gets a very small share of attention compared with the curative work of charity. People are much more ready to provide an ambulance for the valley than a fence for the cliff above.

Dr. Edward Everett Hale, the founder of numerous charitable societies, who was wisely active also in legislative, and "law and order" work, confirmed in a letter to the writer his published statement that "if the other churches in Boston would take care of the poverty caused by drink, his church would take care of the remainder"—an impressive way of saying that to cut away the vices would be to destroy most of the poverty at its roots.

Now what are the causes of the perilous clouds in our sky?

First, the Civil War, for war, whether just or not, always increases on both sides, intemperance, impurity, Sabbath breaking and gambling, and lessens the sacredness of both life and property. Therefore we should "seek peace and pursue it," rather than invite more war, and so more vices, by multiplying warships and armies. Many have so shallow a view of ethics that they have more to say against the soldier's bottle than against his battles. Indeed, many ministers are unconsciously fostering the war spirit by the habitual use of military illustrations, such as give young people the impression that there is no courage worth mentioning except that of the warrior "amidst confused noise and garments rolled in blood." Militarism ought to be condemned as a sin in pulpits and Sunday schools and in Christian homes. Only by such fundamental treatment are we likely to do away with this "trade of barbarians." Only once has it been pictured more accurately—when Gen. Sherman said, "War is hell."

The second cause of the clouds described is the beer invasion, which came in under cover of the Civil War, and filled the land with foreign saloons when we were too busy in another conflict to resist or even to study them. Beer is often accounted the least harmful drink, when for that very reason, partly, it has become the most harmful—the bridge over which eighty per cent of the drunkards go to the inebriate asylum and the prison. When a pastor in New York, the writer canvassed the Christian Home for Intemperate Men, and found that eighty

per cent attributed their fall to beer. But recent discoveries show that the indictment against beer is not alone or chiefly that it ushers men to distilled liquors and in many cases to drunkenness, but rather that it injures body and mind when taken in the most moderate quantities. Professor Aschaffenberg has proved that one ounce of alcohol a day in a bottle or less of pure wine or in three glasses or less of pure beer, taken dietetically at home, reduces the work of typesetters, for example, one-tenth.

This new temptation of the lager beer saloon came just when millions of the American people had been persuaded that distilled liquors were dangerous and harmful—so much so that between 1845 and 1855, every state east of the Rocky mountains and north of Mason and Dixon's line outlawed the bar, with the single exception of New Jersey, which for one year of "lucid interval" was under local option. When lager beer came in, with its insistent claim to be welcomed as "a temperance drink," the abolitionists of liquor were busy on the abolition of slavery, and so this new institution, the beer saloon, met with very little opposition. By the time the Civil War was over this new type of drinking resort was strongly intrenched as a new social institution, a loafing, treating, plotting resort, the center of bad morals and corrupt politics, which thousands who have no idea of giving up the drink are now outlawing as a social peril by their anti-

saloon votes. It is a gain worth striving for, even to close the bars, though many will still use the beer.

The third cause of the clouds was the flood of foreign immigration that rolled in upon us in a practically unrestricted tide, after the Civil War started it by the need of men to replace a million fallen heroes, and by the sudden opening in the closing days of the war, through the Pacific railroads, of our whole vast domain.

This leads us directly to the fourth cause, the consequent development of our national ruling passion of commercialism, by which so many strong men who had given their talents to the country at great sacrifice as leaders of anti-slavery politics and the war for the Union, thinking "the piping times of peace" gave them release, threw themselves, body and soul, into the unprecedented opportunities for money-making in this new country, then for the first time available for nation-wide exploitation.

In close relation to this is the fifth cause, the control of politics by a lower grade of men than had led the nation through the crisis of moral and military conflict. These smaller men, seeing that the big men had left politics to make more money, moved by a like commercialism, found new ways to make money in politics. City governments were turned into concerns through which franchise buyers could trade with "the peasant saloonkeepers from Europe"—the latter furnishing the sort of men for city councils that could be controlled by "boodle."

The sixth cause, also directly related to the others, is the growth of impersonal, and so irresponsible corporations, which alone were adequate to handle the great enterprises of this newly opened country, and which in popular opinion, were "soulless" and therefore could neither cheat nor be cheated.

Out of all this grew, in a very brief period, unparalleled luxury, the seventh cause, for luxury has never failed to corrupt its second generation, which has proclaimed its degeneracy in such Babylonish feasts as the "Seeley Dinner" in New York and the "Monkey Dinner" in Newport.

WHY IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION IS DEFEATED.

Pausing now to consider some of these causes in detail, why has it been so hard to restrict excessive immigration by shutting out those who would be physically and morally a burden and a curse? The labor unions have advocated restriction in self defense, and have been seconded, in some degree, by the scholarly element. But reasonable restriction has been defeated again and again, sometimes in the national House of Representatives, sometimes in the Senate, and once in the White House. These defeats have been mainly due to the combined influence of transportation companies and brewers, both of whom are willing to sacrifice the national interest for some small financial benefit. Brewers are but minor members of the alliance. When the brewers' chief agent in Congress failed to get the war tax removed from beer in the 57th Congress, he saw a

three million appropriation for a railway station in Washington pass easily, and exclaimed, "Oh, if the brewers only had passes!" This calls up the fact that the successful fight made by the writer against legalizing race gambling in Pennsylvania, to which previous reference has been made, opened up the secret that the real "boss" of Pennsylvania was its great railroad, without whose permission the greatest of political bosses could not have reigned a day. The railroad had been quoted as on the gamblers' side. I secured a verbal denial. When I found the governor unwilling to threaten a veto, as his predecessor had done, which would have saved a costly agitation, I said that the president of the great railroad had been misquoted. Instantly the dull atmosphere cleared, and he said: "You go to Philadelphia and get that in writing, and the bill is dead."

The writer asked a prominent member of the Immigration Committee of the United States Senate, a few years since, why we were getting no real restriction of the foreign invasion. His answer was short, but profoundly significant, and of wide application: "The transportation companies are very powerful." We must have government ownership of railroads ultimately if only to displace railroad ownership of government. This is a more vital question than the tariff, but one on which both parties are so compromised that it will require more courage than is common among politicians for any group of men to take it up in earnest. The writer was in the room of a leading member of the Senate

Finance Committee, shortly after the death of Senator Davis of Minnesota had made a vacancy in the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Senator Cullom was entitled to it, and desired it, but the clerk of the Finance Committee said: "Of course *we* can't let Cullom have it, for that would make Senator Chandler chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, and he is unfriendly to the railroads." So Senator Cullom had to wait until Senator Chandler was retired from the Senate.

When I was about to speak of national issues at a Chautauqua in Nebraska's capital, Mr. William J. Bryan said to me: "Tell the audience that Nebraska is the only state where the railroads do not dominate politics." He had made the remark with no sign of a smile, but when I repeated it to the audience there was a roar of laughter, under whose foam were the dregs of a well-known shame.

The defeat of the Hepburn bill, to protect "No license" towns against brewers and distillers in other states who ship in liquors for "speak-easies" under the plea of "interstate commerce," was not due chiefly to the liquor dealers, who made an open fight, but more, we are informed by one of the committee in charge, to the railroads, for whose aiding and abetting of this "speak-easy" trade the bill provided new and severe penalties.

Coming back to immigration restriction (the discussion of which has led to a glance at railway domination of politics) we note that of the immigrants in America in 1904, more than twenty

thousand were in insane asylums, and forty-four thousand were dependents in public institutions—many more outside. Five thousand of them were under life sentence. A much greater army of them were running saloons, and still more by their drunkenness were endangering the life and character of the whole people. And yet the transportation companies, controlled by Americans, have year after year prevented reasonable restriction of immigration because it would lessen their receipts. The people can stop all this by government ownership, or by giving legislators who sell out to railroads free passes to "Salt River."

COMMERCIALISM.

Commercialism as a national passion, which has been named as one of the causes of these clouds, is "peanut politicians"—many of them "peasant saloon-really but another name for that covetousness which Jesus Christ denounced more severely than any other sin, except hypocrisy, with which it is often associated. It can be mitigated by teaching the children in our homes and schools and churches that there is no honor in muddy or bloody gold, and that those who "get riches, but not by right," are to be pitied rather than envied as having sacrificed character for cash, as if a man had exchanged diamonds for

COMMERCIALIZED POLITICS.

As for the fifth cause, the control of politics by pebbles.

keepers"—much of the condemnation that has been heaped upon these for their bad politics should be put upon the strong and scholarly Americans who, for the love of money in some cases, for the love of ease and refinement in others, have neglected their duty as leaders in civic life.

Some of the weakest men that have ever been seen in Congress have been sent as "representatives" of districts in which our leading universities are located. One of these was as perfect an embodiment of the "dude" as any sculptor could have modelled. He had been sent to Congress to represent a district which includes what has usually been regarded as America's foremost university partly because his wife had money and partly because no scholarly men in that district wanted the place. He finally died of paresis, typical of the condition of the "body politic" in his district. Another of our foremost universities has been represented by the stupidest man I have ever met anywhere in public life. I do not blame him, for he is probably doing the best he can, but rather the hundreds of strong scholarly men in that district who use their talents to amass money and write books and read them, when an intelligent patriotism would send them to the front in civic battle, in city, state and nation.

SOULLESS CORPORATIONS.

And now as to the sixth cause, the growth of "soulless corporations." The historian will find it

hard to measure the subtle and far reaching effect upon national morals of the doctrine that came in with these corporations, that they can neither cheat nor be cheated. In a New York club, to which the writer formerly belonged, which gathered once a week at an early hour to discuss popular questions, especially economic problems, he never heard such prolonged laughter as was evoked by Mr. Packard, of the famous business college, apparently without intention, when he attempted to illustrate the importance of honesty in little things, and in so doing told of a talk he had given in one of his classes in regard to honesty in the use of postage stamps and the like, whereupon, at the close of the lesson, a young man had come to him with tears in his eyes to confess to withholding a nickel in a street car during the "rush hour" of the previous day. This story of a young man's sorrow at cheating a corporation seemed to that audience, made up largely of corporation officers and lawyers, so inexpressibly funny that they laughed and laughed in recurring waves for several minutes. But under all of this there was to thoughtful men a tragic revelation of the demoralizing influence of the theory of "soulless corporations." Men who are accustomed to be honest only in dealing with individuals, and adopt a different code for corporations, in this age when corporations are very numerous will be likely to find their corporation code of morals stealing into their individual transactions. The remedy is in faithful teaching in home and school and church of that

doctrine of the Bible which Milton expressed when he said that "nations (it is equally true of all associations) are *moral persons.*" Manifestly what would be wrong for an individual cannot be right for a group of individuals, however associated.

A GOOD USE OF LUXURY.

We shall not deal more wisely with public problems until we turn the abundant leisure of this age of luxury to patriotic studies, instead of devoting it so largely to idleness and play. Luxury is not the peril of the rich alone. Every family in which all the adult members—men and women who are in health and out of school—are not bread-winners, is living in luxury. One boy boasted that his father had "a 'pizarro' on the side of his house, a 'port rico' in front, and 'copula' on top"; to which another boy, not to be outdone, replied that he had heard his father say he "had a *mortgage* on his house." The mortgage on the house is not always a luxury, but the prevalence of "pizarros," which travelers on trains see occupied by idling adults in mid-afternoon all across the land, is in striking contrast to the previous generation, when only about one family in a town had such a luxury as a piazza, and even that family seldom used it, except for children, during business hours. Not many of our successful men grew up on piazzas, and America can hardly expect to escape the national decline luxury has always brought since Rome fell amid cries for "bread and games," unless our increasing leisure is partly

used to study and solve the serious problems of our time. Why may not the "new woman," sitting idly about in so many homes and hotels, show herself "new" indeed by studying for home protection the great questions of civics, which Mrs. Livermore tells young women are "as interesting as the everlasting novel."

"Six days shalt thou labor" is a command binding upon all adults in health. If we do not need to work for money we are bound to work regularly, with the mind at least, for our own and others' good.

SOME RELATIONS OF THEOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY.

There is at least one theological cause of these clouds, namely, the doubts thrown by the words of some, and the silence of more, on the doctrine of future retribution. When "liberals" in orthodox churches were denying future punishment. Dr. Ryder, the Universalist, rebuked them, holding to future, though not endless retribution. Whenever men doubt a future hell they make hells on earth. When the oppressed cease to believe that God will in the future mete out justice to those who by corrupting government have escaped their deserts here, they seize the bomb and fire-brand and themselves make a judgment day. Not only for the salvation of individuals, but for social salvation also we must follow Christ in warning men of "a judgment to come." If the rich *roue* who seduces a guileless country girl, and, when she sues for redress, by a smart lawyer and bribed witnesses

blackens her character and escapes, is not to face a supreme court of appeals in the future where he will get the justice he escaped here, it would make one doubt the very existence of a God. When the writer said this in a western Chautauqua, a frontier preacher exclaimed, "Thank God for hell." Yes, for without future punishment, justice, the crowning work of God, would be an unfinished task. Hell, rightly conceived, is the supreme court of the universe.

That characterization of the Stuart period by the keen censor who said the people had "taken the 'not' out of the commandments and put it in the creed," needs this qualification, that it is the change in the creed which comes first.

VII.

GROUNDS OF HOPE.

And now what are our grounds of hope that the causes of these clouds will be removed and the clouds themselves will be dispelled?

First, that great word, which, when Lincoln was shot and the nation's heart stood still with fear, was spoken by Garfield, standing by the statue of Washington in Wall street, New York, and which, when Garfield was shot, was again taken up as the nation's creed: "THE LORD REIGNS."

I am a Christian optimist. Not a wilful optimist, who finds hope by turning his back on the clouds; not a professional optimist, who acts as if retained to defend the present against all comers by explaining away facts; but a *Christian* optimist, who expects right to win, chiefly because God reigns. "Clouds and darkness are round about him," but behind the clouds I see, not a "silver lining," but "THE GREAT WHITE THRONE." "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he hath set judgment in the earth."

David, pursued by Saul, when in his forest hiding place he could see no visible encouragement, east or west, north or south, looked up through the trees to heaven and "encouraged himself in God." Why should we fear anything for ourselves or our country with Him looking at us?

A little girl, whose pet dog was barking lustily at the passing militia, called to her mother in great trepidation: "Oh mamma, come quick! Gip's going to bite the army!" As foolish are the fears of those who act as if the devil were about to devour God, who will win, but the sooner if we help him.

There are visible encouragements also. When a woman on shipboard in a storm asked the captain, "Is there any danger?" he replied, "We must trust in God;" at which she exclaimed, "Has it come to that?" It has not "come to that" in the sense she meant it.

SPOTS OF BLUE BETWEEN THE CLOUDS.

In the writer's own time, clouds as many and as dark as those described have been dispelled wholly or largely from the national sky, leaving spots of blue between the clouds not yet as large as the clouds, but large enough to show the way to the "clear shining after rain." What are these dozen spots of blue between the clouds, and how were they cleared?

A century ago there were seven evils that even timid Christians said had "come to stay;" namely, the plague, piracy, duelling, slavery, polygamy, the lottery, race gambling and the spoils system. Several of them had behind them the same vast power of politics, money and social custom as the clouds we so much dread today. But they are gone or going, because *God has "come to stay," and a few of His people have staying qualities.* Three other

reforms are so nearly complete that we may count them as at least assured: namely, the secret official ballot, scientific temperance education, and international peace. And the white man's traffic in liquors and opium in mission fields is on trial in the grand jury of the great Powers, charged with being hostile to markets and morals alike.

How were these spots of blue cleared of clouds? By the same methods we may hope to scatter the clouds that remain.

THE PLAGUE.

It will surprise many to find such a physical evil as the plague listed with moral and social evils, but intelligent men are more and more coming to recognize that individual sickness is often a sin, and an epidemic is usually a social crime. It seems incredible that our fathers should have tolerated the plague, counting it "a necessary evil," and even "a visitation of God," when it was so manifestly due to the social sin of unsanitary streets. As this ancient plague has been almost annihilated throughout the world by co-operative sanitation, so some day there will be co-operation of government and science and philanthropy, in removing moral cesspools from our streets in the interest of what the United States Supreme Court has declared to be the two supreme purposes of government, "the public health and the public morals."

Here it is appropriate to quote the shallow objection made to reform legislation, "You can't make

men moral by law," for the manifest fact is that we can make men moral by law, just as we make them healthy by law,* not by individual compulsion, but by removing the occasions in the one case of vice as in the other case of disease, so making it harder to do wrong and easier to do right, just as we make it harder to be sick and easier to be well.

PIRACY.

Piracy is another evil, once common and no doubt thought by many a permanent curse in the world, that has been almost obliterated. And, curiously enough, it was in China, in whose rivers about all the pirates who survived into the twentieth century were at its beginning hiding from an incompetent government, that a foreign tobacco company was in 1910 placarding the dead walls with posters as big and as numerous as those of a coming circus, by way of introducing "Pirate Cigarettes" (so labeled) which should be opposed, on commercial as well as moral grounds, as piracy was itself suppressed, chiefly

*How much has been accomplished by organized effort toward the reduction of disease and how much remains to be done were shown by E. E. Rittenhouse, President of the Provident Savings Life Assurance Society, in his address at the Atlanta Conference, 1910, on the hookworm disease. The death-rate of tuberculosis has been reduced 49 per cent since 1880 and $8,000,000 is now spent annually to fight that disease. Yet 130,000 American people die from it every year. The death-rate for typhoid fever as the result of better sanitation has declined 44 per cent in the same period. Yet the disease still claims 22,000 victims annually. The diphtheria death-rate has been reduced 80 per cent. Yet the disease causes 20,000 deaths a year.

through the appeal of imperilled trades to the government. China, with the largest population in the world, and so prospectively the largest market if it is properly guarded against impoverishment, is so poor that even the cost of a few cigarettes is enough to take thousands of families beyond the line of adequate sustenance. The real perils of the Orient are not "yellow perils," but the three "white perils," cigarettes, beer and opium—the first two seeking to capture the places made vacant by the progressing campaign of the Chinese against opium. It is not likely that cigarettes and beer can be adequately dealt with by the government at present, for China, unfortunately, is bound hand and foot by treaties with European governments to allow the sale of all three of the curses named. In every other nation the police powers would be ample for any action desired by the native government in such matters. International public opinion should express itself and compel the revision of these piratical treaties.

DUELLING.

The almost complete extinction of duelling in the United States is instructive, because it was probably due, more than to anything else, to one tragedy, the death of Alexander Hamilton, which showed to the whole country, as by flash-light, the wickedness and absurdity of a social custom by which a man so essential to the nation's welfare might be "called out" by a man of far less quality

who felt aggrieved at some fancied wrong, and shot down in the prime of life. The pistol of Aaron Burr—no thanks to him—really shot down duelling itself.

Some day, not far distant, it will be seen by the majority, as it is seen now by the most progressive thinkers, that the duelling of nations is really as absurd as this old custom of private war, and that the quarrels of nations, often built on imaginary wrongs, should also be settled in the courts—in this case by the court of the nations at The Hague. The war between Spain and the United States was particularly kindred to the duel, for Spain knew from the first that there was no hope of success against a nation so powerful, and simply stood up to be shot at by way of vindicating its "honor." The absurd charge that the Spanish Government was responsible for sinking the Maine should have been submitted to arbitration, which it was the business of our side to propose. That it was not, puts a blot on that page of American history, dimming the honor of the most unselfish war of modern times.

SLAVERY.

Analogies between the extinction of slavery in America and the suppression of other slaveries that remain, such as that of the drink traffic, have often been developed. Southern people should not be so sensitive as some of them are, at these comparisons, for the North was scarcely less guilty than the South for the continuance of slavery, and those who ran

the mills of New England were almost as much under the tyranny of "King Cotton" as the planters of the South. One of my earliest memories is seeing the richest member of my father's church, in Maine, take his hymn books and family and march out of the church because my father prayed for the slave. And another early memory is seeing the officers of my father's church stand in a row to form a gauntlet between my father and the polls, when he went there under their frowning eyes to vote for Fremont. But for such a father, the son would probably never have undertaken similar reforms. It is easier to make the excuse of sincerity for the men brought up in the South than for such men in the North, and they were not few, and many of them were inside the Church.

More than in the case of any of the three preceding evils was the abolition of slavery due to an organized campaign of education—the use of lectures and literature on a large scale to inform and arouse public sentiment. It may be thought that there is a marked contrast between this reform and those now in progress, in that the anti-slavery conflict came to blood at last. But as the battle with the saloon grows more desperate, and the vast properties of distillers and brewers become more endangered, it is to be feared that the few assassinations that have already occurred will be multiplied. History leads us to expect that the most desperate fighting, and so the greatest call for courage and devotion, will come at the last.

MORMON POLYGAMY.

When the Republican party was organized, its declared purpose was to cut out "the twin ulcers," slavery and Mormon polygamy.* The political leaders now show very little disposition to fulfill the second part of their pledge and programme.

A reminiscence of the battle by which Brigham Roberts was driven back from the doors of Congress is apropos. The writer was making a campaign across the country in behalf of his exclusion, and spoke in Salt Lake City to a representative audience made up of Gentiles and monogamous Mormons. His theme was, "Living and Dying Nations." He showed how licentiousness had been the chief factor in making France a "dying nation," with more deaths than births, following the discussion of which he asked the question, amid a solemn hush, "What is the matter with Turkey?" He answered: "The matter with Turkey is the same as the matter with France, only they call the vice in Turkey by a less malodorous name. But licentiousness will kill an individual or a nation just as surely if it is called marriage and religion." I proceeded to show *the evil influence of polygamy—in Turkey.* Just when the audience expected I would make an application direct to local condition, I ended my point, again

*Dr. H. K. Carroll's annual census of the American churches for 1909 (Christian Advocate, Jan. 27, 1910), showed that the "Church of Latter Day Saints," commonly known as the Mormon Church, had increased to the extent of 281 preachers, 258 churches and 71,444 members in the 16 years from 1890 to 1906.

and again, in the same way, reiterating *the degenerating influence of "polygamy—in Turkey."* This proved to be much more effective than any attempt of an outsider to discuss the question in a local way, for it kept continually before the audience the fact that Utah was in the same social group with Turkey; that it was indeed, *Turkey in America;* and no other reproach could have been more awakening, nor would any more specific argument have proved a stronger appeal for the exclusion of the polygamist from Congress. Perhaps along that same line of teaching—setting this evil on its international background—we shall be most successful in arousing the people of Utah—Mormons as well as others—to the need of bringing the state into civilization.

In the success of the effort to exclude Brigham Roberts from Congress a conclusive answer was given to the cowards in Congress and lazy churchmen outside who are fond of saying that "petitions are useless." In that fight it was proved that even the petitions of women, if they are numerous enough, are nearly irresistible. Although other organizations on the right and left wings did noble service, it was the women's clubs of the United States and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union that formed the center of the victorious battle line. One congressman, who had been temporarily retired from his position several years before when the prices went up on the bargain counters on account of the McKinley Tariff Bill, said to me: "I am going to vote for exclusion whether it is consti-

tutional or not, for I have once been McKinleyed by the women."

The writer believes in woman suffrage, combined with other suffrage reforms, as in Dr. Joseph Cook's famous saying: "No sex, no shirks, no simpletons in suffrage."

It must be frankly said that the petitions of women, even in larger force, with those of a multitude of men, were not effective in a later case that it would be useless to reopen. It looks as if the defense of the country, for some years, against this spreading octopus of the Rocky Mountains, that already controls enough politics to make it a political as well as a moral peril, will depend chiefly on the multiplying of Christian schools and the vigorous promotion of home missions in that part of the land.

LOTTERIES.

The successful war against lotteries is one of the most encouraging chapters in the history of American morals. In my boyhood the lottery seemed to be as permanent as any evil of today. The Louisiana Lottery had behind it great social, financial and political influences, not only in Louisiana, but in the nation—Washington being only second to New Orleans as a gambling center. It is said that the daily drawings of that lottery brought the proprietors twenty-eight million dollars a year, mostly from Louisiana and the neighboring states, while the "capital drawings" were capital crimes that drew money in golden streams from all parts of the coun-

try. It was even more surprising that the chambers of commerce should tolerate this than that the churches made no effective resistance for many years.

Let those who think that Congress can be bought and sold take note that when the hour had come that merchants and moralists demanded the suppression of the lottery, it could not command money enough, with all its millions, to buy of Congress another year's lease of life. It is also very instructive to note that when Louisiana could no longer draw money from other states, and must rob its own citizens only, the merchants of that state speedily suppressed it altogether. This recalls the word of Warren Hastings in regard to opium in India, that it was a "vile drug, suitable only for purposes of foreign exportation." The lottery was a vile institution, to be tolerated only when it could be used to draw large importations of money from other states.

It is surprising how quickly sentiment changed when the agitation was fairly on. I visited the city of New Orleans in a southern tour for the promotion of Sabbath observance, in 1889, and having incidentally referred, in an address to the union preachers' meeting, to the fact that Louisiana had two blots on her fair name, first the presence of a legalized lottery, and second the absence of a legalized Sabbath, I was surprised at the end of my address, in which I had made no further reference to the lottery but had confined myself to the Sabbath

question, to find that all else had been forgotten and that the most prominent men in the preachers' meeting were ready to attack me as a champion of the Sabbath for meddling with an outside question because of that brief preliminary reference to licensed gambling.

One of the most eminent preachers in that city said that "if there was any honest gambling, it was that of the Louisiana Lottery." But the very man who was foremost in rebuke and the chief apologist for the lottery that day, when the battle for its extinction was well started, was so ardent in his attack upon it that he was accused of inciting the people to suppress the lottery by violence, and no man had a larger influence in its final overthrow.

In the adjoining state of Arkansas, at the table of a congressman and church warden, a few years before the fall of the Louisiana lottery, I referred to it in unfriendly terms, whereupon the wife exclaimed in surprise: "We all patronize the lottery. My husband, who is a banker—he was absent that day—thinks that people should not gamble unless they can do it with their own money." That was about the extent of the anti-gambling sentiment, even in the churches thereabouts at that time. But it is very encouraging for those of us who have other battles to fight, to recall how, in spite of mighty financial, social and political influences back of the lottery, it was quickly overthrown. It was driven first from the mails, through a letter the writer sent from New Orleans, at the time above

mentioned, to the Postmaster General, who turned it over to the Attorney General, who on that suggestion drafted the law.

Afterward, chiefly by the individual efforts of Prof. J. R. Woodbridge, of Boston, the lottery was driven from the express companies, into which it had retreated as into a second breastwork. Since then lotteries have become in the United States almost an extinct species of vice. They appear rarely except in fairs of old world churches among us, and occasionally for a night or two in some charity fair that seeks to get money for the poor by encouraging the vice which is one of the chief roots of poverty.

I recall a suggestive incident in the battle against the lottery in one of the Dakotas, where, by some trick, a bill establishing a state lottery was carried through one house of the legislature. This fact being published the next morning through the Associated Press, I turned to my files instantly and brought together anti-lottery arguments of Attorney General Miller and other timely matter and made a broadside of about the size of a daily newspaper page, and before the close of that day in which the news reached us, had mailed these arguments to hundreds of preachers in that state by way of helping them to defeat the plot, which they did.

How much this swift reinforcement had to do with the victory will probably never be known in this world. But the story suggests that there ought to be in some national office, and in some office in

every state, a supply of such ammunition on many subjects, not only in the files ready to be printed, but in printed sheets ready to be sent out, for reformers should not forget Napoleon's words, "I know the value of minutes in war."

RACE GAMBLING.

This brings us to race gambling as another cloud that is being rapidly dispelled. Traveling through Ohio, I read in the Cincinnati Enquirer, that a bill to legalize a horse racing association had been introduced in the Ohio Legislature. A telegram blank was at once drawn, like a handy pistol, and sent off at the next station, ordering race gambling documents, that we keep by thousands for such emergencies, sent to the preachers and moral leaders at Columbus. I afterwards learned that within an hour after I had first read the news, the literature had been put in the mails at Washington, and within twenty-four hours it was in the hands of Columbus leaders, who thanked me for the timely help it brought for their swift and successful fight.

Since 1896, I have fought the race gambling monopoly almost constantly, first in the District of Columbia, then in Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Virginia, Ohio, Maryland, and most of all, in New York, where the International Reform Bureau made a three years' campaign around the enemy's stronghold, which Governor Hughes, in the third year, carried to success. Among the "scenes and unseens" of these anti-gambling campaigns, into which

I have put more effort than into any other battles except those against alcohol and opium, there are some incidents which may prove instructive to younger men by showing the tricks of the enemy and the best methods to defeat them. Some of these incidents show the necessity for swift action, especially when racing with race horses, and with equally swift manipulators of legislatures, for it is the usual plan of these race gamblers in attempting to secure a gambling monopoly in a state legislature, to keep everything out of sight until the last three or four days, and then rush their bill through before the slow-moving forces of goodness are aware that anything is being done. Occasionally they find one as swift on the other side. It was on a Friday afternoon that I read in a Washington paper that "a bill to establish a racing commission" had been favorably reported by District of Columbia Committees in both Houses of Congress. It was expected to pass on "District Day," the following Monday. There was little further news in the item, except a statement that there would be "no open betting." The word "open" *opened* the reformer's eyes, and *opened* the battle. The bill was found to be, as suspected, a bill less intended to "improve the breed of horses" than to depress the breed of men for money. The two District Committees of Congress had both reported this bill without reading it, on the assurance of men interested that there was "no gambling in it." But the reformer found that the bill was nothing more or

less than a bill to combine gambling, hypocrisy and monopoly. Pretending to forbid all gambling, it forbade all gambling outside of one race track, and thus gave a gambling monopoly to the rich, while continuing the heavy punishments then in force for any one who should gamble anywhere else. An intended trip to Pittsburg for that night was postponed, and duplicate letters sent to the District Committees of Congress, assuring them that they had been misinformed, and that the bill provided for licensed gambling. On the strength of this letter, the House Committee withdrew the bill for hearings, and the Senate Committee, without withdrawing the bill, allowed hearings. The contest became a thirty days' war, in which the tide of battle ebbed and flowed. Under our attack, the promoters of the bill introduced twenty-nine amendments, making the prohibition of every form of gambling complete, but removing the five years' imprisonment penalty of the existing law to substitute only the nominal penalty that money won by race gambling might be recovered by civil suit if the loser were mean enough, after entering into such a scheme, to sue for recovery—a penalty which was no penalty at all, and which was so ambiguously expressed that some good senators and congressmen supposed that it was not a substitute for the existing prison penalty but an additional punishment. Even the attorney for the District seemed to be deceived by the language, and approved the bill a second time during the contest, leading the Commissioners to

approve it. But after a preacher had been sent to this attorney to show the trick, he attempted, too late, to withdraw his approval. The bill, with the Commissioners' endorsement, had gone to Congress. It was just then, in a hearing of the Senate Committee that the attorney of the race gambling monopoly asked the reformer who led the other side if he were a lawyer, hoping to discredit his attack on the bill because he did not belong to that profession. But the reformer answered instantly and confidently that the only good law that had been brought to bear upon the case had come from the preachers—the lawyers in Congress having been deceived by the tricky phraseology, and the attorney of the District having given an opinion which he sought to withdraw after receiving a half hour's instruction in law from a preacher. Whereat the laugh was on the lawyers, and the cross-questioning ceased.

In the same hearing a famous detective sat at the Senate Committee table, who had been hired by the gambling monopoly to canvass the reformer's record as a pastor and reformer in New York and Brooklyn, hoping to find something by which to drive him off the case. The detective had confessed to an acquaintance on the train, not supposing it would get to the reformer, that he had been unsuccessful. Turning to the detective in the hearing, the reformer said to the Committee: "These gamblers having no valid arguments, have been trying to win this case by putting a detective on my

past history, who has come back to his clients here empty handed." At which he was speechless. Suffice it to say that in spite of the approval of the Commissioners and of both Committees of Congress —that of the House Committee being reiterated a second time—the bill was defeated, illustrating the fact, often demonstrated, that there is small chance for a bad bill to succeed if there is a determined opposition, and the attention of the country is fully drawn to the measure. Many a man who will quietly vote for such a measure if there is no opposition wishes it pigeon-holed when it becomes a subject on which he may be called to account.

The experiences of this battle of Washington were of great service when, several years later, a similar fight had to be made in the Pennsylvania legislature, where again the three day trick was tried. A racing bill was introduced on Thursday. There was a head line statement that there was no gambling in it, in the only Philadelphia paper that gave the long bill in full, which probably not a Christian in the state but only the gamblers read through. They expected that the bill would go through without any opposition on the following Monday or Tuesday, the farmers having been bought off by certain promises for racing at country fairs, and no religious or moral forces having shown up for a fight.

The trick was discovered by the writer in a lecture trip which took him into the state that day. He read the whole bill and on turning to the gamblers'

New York paper, found editorial congratulation that the second richest state in the country was about to be captured without opposition—not a finger being lifted in all the state to oppose the bill.

Such is the imperfect organization of our moral forces that it was "nobody's business" particularly, but "everybody's business" to look after such matters. It might have been expected that the State Young Men's Christian Association or the State Federation of Churches, or one of the denominational synods or conferences would have taken up the matter. But none of them felt any responsibility for state reforms and they were all ignorant of the devices of this subtle foe; and so a reformer from outside, exhausted physically and financially from a hard winter's campaign in Congress, had to spring into the fight, and use five hundred dollars of his own money, and all the forces of an international office at Washington turned on this state fight by telegraph, to arouse the state to its danger.

The first night, providentially, the lecture audience was aroused to such a degree that their representative in the state legislature, a party leader, was induced to take the decisive part that somebody must take in the legislature to defeat the plot. The next morning eight dollars' worth of telegrams were sent in a single hour, including copy to the printer at York, for an appeal to the moral leaders of the state; orders to the office at Washington to write envelopes to Pennsylvania preachers and bankers—all of these jobs to meet the reformer at Harris-

burg on Monday morning, which they did, and in five days the state was informed of the plot, although only the North American in Philadelphia and few papers elsewhere would tell even the news of the case.

Suffice it to say that after seventeen days of fast and furious fighting, the richest gambling syndicate the world had ever known, in league with the mightiest political organization ever yet developed anywhere, was defeated in a united plot to legalize a race gambling monopoly in that state.

An important warning from this fight is against the slowness with which Christian forces act at such a time. The only organization in the state that sent a deputation to aid the lone reformer from outside was a Quaker meeting in Philadelphia. When the most important hearing before a committee of the legislature was held, the reformer had but one associate from the state that in moral earnestness is second to none. And yet, even in the state where the people were then supposed to have less power in politics than in any other, a very inadequate demonstration of opposition conclusively defeated this gambling plot—one of many proofs that moral forces can win whenever they half try.

As I have frankly shown that in some things our own country has the worst record in the world, it is fair to say that in gambling, Australia outruns any land I have seen. Reliable citizens of Adelaide told us the main street was so blocked a few days before our arrival, with gamblers madly investing their money in gambling at little shops on either side and

in near by alleys that the mounted police had to clear the way for the street cars. Anti-gambling measures were then pending and we hope there is a better story to tell today.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

The "spoils system," at the close of the Civil War, seemed to be as fixed a cloud in our sky as any that now remain, and indeed there is still some mist in that spot. But the contrast between the civil service at the end of President Andrew Jackson's term, when there were practically no office holders except Democrats, and at the end of the second term of President Grover Cleveland, the only Democratic president since the war, who left more Republicans than Democrats in office though he had controlled appointments eight years out of the previous twelve, is one of the most encouraging contrasts in the whole history of reform effort. Moral reformers who take a narrow personal view of vice and virtue scarcely think of the spoils system as a serious wrong, or of civil service reform as an important social virtue. But we have only to conceive of the spoils system as applied to private business to see how dishonest it is. No one would ask to be employed in a private business except on the ground that he was qualified to do the work. But even Christian men seriously urge at this late day that men shall be appointed to public office because of service to party, as if a government that belongs to all the people might properly be used as a party committee for promoting party ends.

This is a part of the corrupting corporation morality to which we have already referred, the widely prevalent idea that principles of right and wrong, generally recognized in individual transactions, are to be set aside when either party to a transaction is an association, whether governmental or commercial, only that in case of governmental associations the cheating goes beyond anything that would be attempted in commercial life, in the effort to secure support for men incapable of rendering an honest equivalent in service.

THE PURCHASING OF VOTES.

Another of the clouds that has been largely dispelled, as compared with the past, though here again is a lingering mistiness, is the purchasing of votes. Very common more recently than the Civil War, it became so bold and disgraceful that in four short years ballot reform swept almost the entire country, bringing in the Australian ballot, which made it very difficult for any one who purchased votes to be sure that the goods had been delivered. For that reason and because of a quickened public sentiment the vote buying industry has greatly decreased. This bribing of voters will not be wholly suppressed until in addition to the secret ballot, publicity of campaign contributions is fully secured.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE EDUCATION.

One of the reforms that so far as government action is concerned has been fully accomplished, is

the introduction of scientific temperance education in the public schools. This has cleared away a cloud of previous neglect in this matter and has revealed "the star of hope of temperance reform over the school house." This movement was began by Mrs. Mary H. Hunt in behalf of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1882, when Vermont passed the first state law to make scientific temperance education compulsory. By 1900 all states had similar laws, and Congress had extended this law to the District of Columbia and the territories and to our military and naval academies. There is some mistiness yet at this spot in the sky, for while the enactment of laws is completed, the enforcement of the laws has been neglected in many states. The presence of a brewer's child in the school, or the influence of a brewer upon the superintendent of schools or the president of the board of education has, in many cases, made the teaching of these lessons half-hearted or merely nominal.

What is needed is a corps of scientific lecturers who shall bring scholarship and enthusiasm to this form of teaching and present it with slides, charts and other illustrations and experiments, in all the schools in rotation. In Great Britain, sixty scientific lecturers are employed by the Band of Hope Union to help the teachers in this work. It should be possible in the United States, with laws requiring temperance education on all our statute books, to secure efficient administration of this law through such lecturers without taxing private benevolence.

THE WAR CLOUD.

We can hardly claim that the war cloud has entirely disappeared from our sky, for 67 per cent of all our vast revenues in the year ending June 30, 1909, were spent for past and future wars. It is surprising that the abuse of charity in undeserved pensions has been treated so timidly by charity reformers, doubtless in the fear of being thought to be ungenerous and unpatriotic. But pensioners themselves, who would keep the pension roll a roll of honor, should oppose every pension proposed for which there is no just warrant. Every honorable pensioner should fight especially the numerous cases of young widows of old soldiers who married them in their last days in order to live on the government for the remainder of their lives as soldiers' widows. Some of them have secretly remarried but maintain their status of widowhood in sworn documents in order to continue the government support for the new husband. At least one Pension Commissioner was hounded from office for opposing such robbers of the government.

The other chief drain on the national treasury for militarism is the ever mounting appropriation for a "big navy." An equal expenditure in peace propaganda would make unnecessary our own and other navies, built chiefly from the hard-earned money of the poor.

THE ANTI-OPIUM REFORM WAVE.

And now we come to a clearing spot in the sky which represents the most encouraging of all recent reform activities. I refer to the tremendous strides of anti-opium reform in China and in the field of international politics. Progress in this reform has been much faster than in the temperance reform, suggesting that other old evils of our time may be brought to a sudden end.

In the opening month of 1906 opium smoking (in which 125,000,000 out of the 400,000,000 people of China were participating, according to a government decree) seemed to be as permanently entrenched in that country as an evil habit, maintained by greed on one side and appetite on the other, as is the liquor traffic today in the other parts of the world. The Anti-Opium Society of Great Britain had waged a thirty years' war in behalf of the release of China from British treaties written in blood, that made the opium traffic compulsory. That society accomplished nothing visible except to secure an empty declaration of Parliament that "the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible"—and financially indispensable, might have been added, for no mandate or even request was given to the government to do anything to abate the traffic. The thirty years of persistent agitation, however, had not been without effect, and public sentiment was crystalizing towards some result. Particular effort had been made in the election of the Parliament of 1906 to secure men who stood right on

local option and the opium question, with the result that the new House of Commons was more like Cromwell's Parliament than any that had met in the intervening years. The thirtieth of May was set as the day to vote on this Indo-Chinese opium trade. The International Reform Bureau had been conducting national and international agitation against both liquors and opium as hindrances to missions, from 1900 forward, and was called on to be a Blucher to bring in foreign reinforcements for the Waterloo of opium that was expected on the date named. Resolutions had been secured from missionary societies and chambers of commerce asking President Roosevelt to use his "good offices" with the British Government to secure the release of China from the opium treaties, and give the nation a free hand in these police matters such as is exercised by all other independent nations. Copies of these resolutions were sent to members of Parliament, and also copies of right action that had been taken by the United States Government looking towards the suppression of the opium traffic except for medicinal uses in the Philippines. In that connection an honest and valuable report on the status of the opium trade in the Orient had been officially made and published.

The action of New Zealand, Australia and South Africa in the banishment of opium was also influential, but nothing was quoted with such manifest effectiveness in the parliamentary debate as the Philippine report. That a kindred nation had

resisted the financial temptations involved and adopted a policy of prohibition was a fact that strongly appealed to Parliament. Behind the scenes President Roosevelt interposed his good offices, as requested, and secured the co-operation in this of another friendly power, the Japanese Government. With all this re-enforcement the anti-opium forces of Great Britain were able to carry through unanimously a resolution which not only condemned the British opium traffic but requested the government to bring it to a "speedy close." Before the vote Rt. Hon. John Morley, Secretary of State for India, had supported the resolution in behalf of the government. This vote was received by telegraph in China with great popular demonstrations of approval, and was supposed to be an emancipation proclamation that would set China free of the black treaty bonds that were upon her. The Chinese Government ordered the closing of opium dens in six months and a rapid decrease in poppy cultivation. Native "Opium Discarding Societies" were soon enrolling millions of the people—burning costly opium pipes in great bonfires in the streets. A "wave" of anti-opium reform, impelled by almost unanimous public sentiment of people and officials, swept through the land, and has continued for years without abatement, notwithstanding it was soon found that the British government was not ready to withdraw the opium treaties, and opium restrictions were continually checked by the fact that while the

Chinese were restrained, the British opium dealers could not be controlled.

To encourage and help China in this difficult position, as well as to aid opium suppression in the Philippines, President Roosevelt called a dozen nations to co-operate at Shanghai in 1909 in a Joint Opium Commission, which was in reality a jury of twelve nations with the British Government on trial, and at the same time a member of the jury. Some strong utterances were made by this Commission, but the desire of the United States government to have it internationally declared that opium should be used only as a medicine was defeated by the British commissioners.

However, the matter was taken up again by President Taft, who called an international conference, with larger powers, to meet at The Hague, with the avowed aim not alone to help China but to secure an agreement among the nations to suppress everywhere throughout the world the sale of opium except for medicinal purposes. That the reform should have reached a point where such a great step forward could be seriously considered in a conference of nations indicates the most amazing progress that was ever made in a battle against a popular evil in so short a time. If the friends of missions the world over and the intelligent leaders of international commerce do not miss their opportunity, The Hague Conference will succeed in its great purpose, and if successful we may reasonably hope that soon after there will be

a right answer to the similar question of liquors in Africa, which President Roosevelt submitted (without result as yet) to the British Government and also to the Brussels Conference of Nations, in 1906.

THE THIRTEENTH CLEARING SPOT.

Off against the thirteenth cloud we have named is the whitening prohibition map of the United States, which proclaims that 40,000,000 out of the 90,000,000 of our people have outlawed the saloon.

I have in earlier pages cautioned my comrades against exaggerating the significance of this "reform wave," lest it should become a wave of poppy juice, for our audiences need, above all things, to be awakened to action, and for that purpose no alarm rings louder than the fact that up to 1907, at least, the decrease of saloons had not been sufficient to cause a per capita decrease in the whole country in the consumption of liquors, partly, as I have indicated, because increased wages and increased hours of opening saloons have led those who drink to drink more partly because immigration brings a host of new drinkers every year; and partly because temperance people have neglected to follow the campaign for "No license" with a personal pledge-signing crusade for "No liquors."

Notwithstanding these qualifications, next to the marvellous progress of anti-opium reform, the progress of the prohibition movement is the most encouraging of reform successes. At the Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism in London in

1909, the hopes of reformers in all lands reached the high tide of enthusiasm when by our whitening map it was shown that the nation which has been for a hundred years the experiment station of the world in liquor legislation and which has thoroughly tried every method of restriction—low license, high license, government ownership, "disinterested management," even "doxology" saloons—has, after a century of experimentation, knowing well, as a traveling people, the imperfections of prohibition, settled down to the fact that it is the best legal restraint of the liquor traffic. The only statistics needed to prove this to a thoughtful man anywhere in the world are the statistics of prohibition's rapidly increasing areas in the country where the temperance experiments have been the most thorough. If further statistics are needed, they are at hand in the vast expenditures recently made by alarmed liquor dealers to defeat prohibition, which they always fight much harder than any of its substitutes. And surely we ought to count that man as beyond the pale of reasoning who believes that such a class of men as the liquor dealers would expend vast sums in frantic anti-prohibition literature, in addition to high license fees, if they really could "sell more liquor under prohibition" without license fees or literature funds, as they have made some pious people believe. It will be observed that the author uses the word "prohibition" for local as well as larger suppression of liquor selling. It is an ignorant prejudice that makes some men applaud "No license" and condemn "prohibition." Prohi-

bition means "No license" on a state-wide scale and "No license" is simply local prohibition. But local prohibition, by some belittled, has conquered in many states an area as large or larger than the state of Maine. Prohibition never forbids drinking anywhere but only the *sale* in a certain area to decrease the temptations to drink, always allowing importation of liquors bought elsewhere for private consumption.

I have spoken of evils in which our national record is the worst of any country in the world, but

ON THE WHOLE OUR MORAL STATUS IS THE BEST,

for our wide-spread prohibition and separation of church and state are points of incomparable superiority to any of the first class nations with which ours is associated in the front rank of Great Powers. These two excellencies more than off-set all the secondary matters in which we fall short. Even Canada lags behind in the primal political virtue of prohibition. And Great Britain is yet more behind, not alone because its women stand on both sides of the bar and because gambling is fostered by nobility and royalty, but most of all because the union of church and state makes much of religious life a form, and some of it a farce, and puts most serious social and financial and political disadvantage in the path of all denominations save the one favored by the state, which, in other ways, by its political subordination, is hurt most of all. But here again it is "profitable for instruction in righteousness" to recall

that in nine aspects of temperance we are excelled by other nations.

NINE POINTS IN WHICH OTHER NATIONS EXCEL US.

Great Britain excels us in temperance insurance; in temperance hotels; in pledging the children; in lodges and other weekly group meetings for temperance discussion; in the active participation of public officials and labor leaders in temperance propaganda. Germany excels us in experimentation on alcohol by university professors and doctors. France excels us in making known the harmfulness of even moderate use of beer and wine through posters put up by order of city governments. Japan excels us and all lands in effective prohibition of the sale and use of opium save for proper medicinal uses—a standard which President Roosevelt set before the nations of the world at Shanghai in February, 1909, and which President Taft has urged again upon an anti-opium conference of nations at The Hague, which the Laymen's Missionary Movement of all lands should carry to success.

TEMPERANCE INSURANCE.

It is amazing that American abstainers, entitled by statistical science, based on sixty years of British classified insurance, to 26½ per cent higher rebates than the most moderate drinkers, have been so long content to waive this dividend. American insurance companies ought to be required by abstaining patrons to adopt the double plan of mutual insurance

by which those very moderate drinkers who are entitled to insurance at all will be put in a separate class from abstainers, each class receiving the rebate it has actually earned. In the light of modern science life abstainers should be divided also from those who have formerly poisoned their cells with alcohol even though now reformed. As a specific example of what temperance insurance means, let me say that the writer, during a visit to England in 1909, thinking it would be interesting to make a test of the physical status and outlook of a reformer who had been working fourteen hours a day for fifteen years without a whole day off, secured a $5,000 insurance policy and got 25 per cent at the start for being an abstainer and found his expectancy of life was twice that of the most moderate drinker. Being unwilling to stop talking even at death, this insurance was devoted to temperance literature as the mustard seed of a reform literature fund, to be handled by a moral and social commission for many reform organizations and for the great cause of moral reform at large.

TEMPERANCE HOTELS.

That American temperance men should give so little attention to the important matter of temperance hotels is also surprising to our British friends who have these hotels—many of them of high grade—in almost every city of Great Britain and Australia. It is no small protection to the great army of travelling men to provide for them comfortable

hotels without a bar. This matter should have the thoughtful attention of wealthy temperance men in the United States, who might in such hotels combine business and philanthropy. In England where abstainers are a much smaller percentage of the population, some of these hotels pay as much as thirteen per cent. At one in which the writer stopped in London in 1909 it was necessary to engage rooms days in advance, and the ducal landlord had just increased the rent $25,000 a year and required $40,000 to be put into the hotel in repairs. In Australia the temperance caterers call their hotels, that tower far above the bar rooms beside them, "coffee palaces." All of this is a good answer to the shallow talk in commercial circles that "a hotel can not be made a success without a bar." The President of the American Hotel Association, in an article in the Sunday School Times in 1909 exposed this fallacy by citing many successful temperance hotels in the United States, where, however, they are rare and many of them of a quality that dishonors rather than helps the cause.

JUVENILE TEMPERANCE ORGANIZATIONS.

It is equally surprising that we should be so much outdone by the British in pledged organizations of children. If we had done as well as the British in proportion to our population we should have eight millions of enrolled children in our Loyal Temperance Legions and other juvenile temperance societies, which are scarcely a skirmish line compared

with the great army of the juvenile temperance bands of hope abroad. The general neglect of pledge-signing for a score of years past is doubtless one of the chief reasons why the per capita consumption of liquors continues to rise in spite of our extending prohibition.

LODGES AS SALOON SUBSTITUTES.

Europe excels us in lodges, especially Sweden, where there are thirty-three Good Templars in Parliament. And it is largely due to the strength of the Good Templars that Sweden is the foremost nation in Europe in temperance reform. We are depending too much upon occasional public meetings, losing the great benefit that comes from small group meetings every week or two to talk over temperance matters. The nation is very far behind its own past record in this matter, for in 1855 there were five millions of pledged abstainers enrolled in temperance organizations that held regular local meetings. Where the saloons have been closed, lodges are needed more than anywhere else, to provide a new social centre.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS AT TEMPERANCE MEETINGS.

There are few contrasts more striking between the reform meetings of Great Britain and those of this country than the fact that in the former case the presiding officer is nearly always a public official. The writer in his various tours through the British Isles has usually had as chairman at his meetings for the promotion of anti-opium and anti-alcohol

crusades, some member of Parliament or the Lord Mayor or some other high official. They do not seem to know of the usual excuse of American officials, that one who is to act on the temperance question legislatively or judicially must not enter into public agitation lest he should seem to lose his impartiality. Men do not make such excuses when the battle is on tariff or tuberculosis. As abroad, our public officials ought to be willing to preside at a meeting for social betterment even when they do not expect to agree with everything said by the speakers.

The backwardness of American officials in reforms is not likely to be lessened by the fate of seventeen "dry statesmen," whose scalps the President of the Illinois Liquor Dealers' Protective Association held up in its annual meeting for 1909 as defeated candidates for high positions in the November election of 1908, following which also, as the prohibition press tells us, twenty state legislatures defeated temperance bills, most of which were only moderately restrictive.* In this connection we

*The Prohibition Press, of Chicago, in reviewing the year 1909, said: "Despite the evidently increasing sentiment of the people in favor of Prohibition, the liquor politicians and party machines friendly to the traffic, by the enactment of a weak and colorless amendment, still prevented the passage of protective interstate legislation by Congress, and defeated the will of the people as regards Prohibition and other long demanded measures in more than twenty states, including Arkansas, California, Delaware, Kentucky, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin and the District of Columbia."

may well note also, by way of calling back to the battle line those who have stopped fighting to shout over a few victories, that Dr. Samuel Zane Batten has shown how the alarmed and aroused liquor dealers have enlisted against prohibition five millions of voters in what they call the "allied trades," by convincing the glass blowers, for example, that if the saloons are not allowed to go on "smashing things" there will soon be nothing to blow but the prohibitionists. They have also persuaded the coopers that if beer saloons are closed, there will be little call for barrels, as if there would not be more oil barrels needed to light up the darkened homes of the drunkards, and more flour barrels to feed their famished families. It was high comedy when the Central Labor Union of Boston, responding to the frantic cry for help of the frightened liquor dealers, voted a protest to Congress against enacting prohibition for the District of Columbia. Mr. Chas. Stelzle, of the Presbyterian Home Mission Board's Department of Labor, did a great service in stemming this liquor tide among the labor unions by rallying intelligent labor leaders at the American Federation of Labor Convention of 1909, in Toronto, to the defense of labor's true interests, which are those of abstinence and prohibition, since even moderate drinking, as has been shown, reduces both physical and mental efficiency.

BRITISH LABOR LEADERS LEAD MORAL REFORMS.

American labor leaders should be reminded that this whole labor group in the British Parliament is

ready to stand, inside and outside, for any movement in behalf of good morals, and is scarcely less prominent in that regard than in its own special reform, which, intelligently considered, is very largely dependent upon the promotion of good morals for its full success.

GERMANY'S PRE-EMINENCE IN EXPERIMENTATION ON ALCOHOL.

There are seventy physicians enrolled in the American Society for the Study of Alcohol and other Narcotics, and there has been much good work done by them and other Americans in showing the true nature and effects of alcohol; but German universities and German physicians and chemists are entitled to first honors in such studies. Professor Forel, one of the eminent continental experimenters, having visited the universities of the United States, reported that he "found crass ignorance" among our professors in regard to the recent experiments on alcohol.

MUNICIPAL POSTERS ON ALCOHOLISM.

We are decidedly behind France also in making these discoveries known through posters put up by order of city governments, by which it may be made impossible for any one who can read to be ignorant of the perils that linger in the use of any alcoholic beverages.

THE MOST PERFECT PROHIBITION.

Japan excels us in the effective prohibition of the sale of opium. Japan, unexcelled in medical science, finds about two thousand pounds of opium a year sufficient for all legitimate medicinal uses in a nation half as large as ours, which means that four thousand pounds is sufficient for us, whereas we have used annually, in recent years, more than four hundred thousand pounds, much of it in patent medicines, where it is more dangerous because hidden and disguised. We hear almost daily of the smuggling of opium into the Philippines, whose officials plead the impossibility of suppressing the traffic, because of the "extended coast," whereas Japan, with the same sort of coast, but with a more energetic set of officials, makes an absolute success of opium prohibition.

These points in which other nations excel us are all of them points in which our reform work should be improved and strengthened, but there are several other improvements imperatively needed in order to accomplish a more adequate reduction of saloons and especially of liquor consumption and other kindred evils.

Reform societies themselves need to be reformed today, first and most of all by the development of some

PLAN OF CORDIAL CO-OPERATION.

Habitual cordiality is quite as important as co-operation. Reformers are engaged on one of the hardest

and most unpopular tasks in the world, and ought to be good comrades. When the writer was beginning his work as a reform specialist, a presiding officer in Indianapolis said: "You are starting out to reform men, to change them; and they don't want to be reformed. You have undertaken a hard job." The stonecutter finds no will to resist his own in the stone he is shaping, but there is both the individual will and the social will to be reckoned with in changing the man and changing his surroundings for moral ends.

The reformer has his own human nature to deal with, as well as that of others. In all ages it has been natural for men to be critical of competitors. We are not surprised to find a merchant who can say nothing good of another in the same business who is winning a race with him in the competition of trade. Even a tradesman should conquer this propensity for the sake of his own manhood, and frankly rejoice, like a good sportsman fairly beaten, when in the race of business another has fairly outrun him. But in the realm of religion and reform especially, this propensity to criticize competitors should be severely repressed—indeed displaced by brotherly love. Mr. Moody, catching himself one day in a petty criticism of another evangelist, said intensely, half to his own soul, "I would cut my hand off before I would do *that*."

Probably there is no sin to which all strong characters are more prone than to unforgivingness toward some one person for some real or fancied

wrong, and as often as otherwise the one person who is regarded as guilty of this unpardonable sin is a relative or comrade. Christ "knew what is in man" so well that he left no room for doubt as to what must be done in such cases. "If thy brother sin against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone. If he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother." "If thou bring thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." The writer has had his quarrels with comrades, but in the light of mature years believes they were not worth while. He would as soon keep an ash barrel in his parlor as a grudge in his heart.

Let us frankly and calmly discuss different policies —the old question of conservative and radical methods—but let us allow no personal or social jealousies in the thin skirmish line of reformers.

One way to increase cordiality is for every officer of a reform society to resist the temptations to claim too much credit for his own society for reforms accomplished, and to withhold from faithful allies their just mead of praise. One reformer who is very scrupulous about this, having one day omitted to name his allies because the choir had eaten far into his time and compelled abridgement, was "called down" for such omission by a business man in the audience—a good precedent for other hearers by way of reforming the reformers.

It is not Scotchmen alone who say humorous things unbeknown to themselves. A pamphlet has been published on the temperance outlook throughout the world, which gives a fairly accurate story of a great temperance "wave" that has swept through the United States, bringing state prohibition to a large portion of the South, and local prohibition to great sections of the North; but in naming the agencies by which this great civic revival has been produced neither the Anti-Saloon League nor the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is once mentioned. I will leave it for a national prize puzzle, to start the country guessing, to what one society this great revival is attributed—the society of course to which the writer of that pamphlet belongs! It is to "laugh and learn," for the fault is not unknown in other societies. There are some in almost every reform organization who are ungenerous enough to ignore their allies in telling of victories, and this "horrible example" of the absurdity of such a course may well arouse every reformer to ask the question: In telling of results accomplished, do I habitually recognize all the other organizations that have faithfully co-operated with my own in the victories over which we rejoice?

TEMPERANCE FORCES TOO SCATTERED.

Here comes in the value of co-operation, for differences among good men disappear, and appreciation is increased by direct co-operation, shoulder to shoulder. Direct efforts for this needed national co-

operation began in earnest at the Temperance Centennial in 1908, when the various temperance societies gathered in Saratoga to celebrate the first American temperance society, which, it was claimed, had been organized in Moreau, a little village near by, in 1808. That was but one of many local springs of the modern "temperance movement."

There was encouragement in the contrast between the beginning and the end of that first temperance century, for in the first years there were only a few scattered local societies, while at the end there were several strong national organizations, with state and local branches. But these national organizations were as independent of each other at the end of the century as the local organizations had been at the beginning.

The national federation of liquor dealers was not yet matched by any form of national co-operation among its foes. It was characteristic of that Temperance Centennial that the various temperance organizations met separately in different churches and halls, though the delegates were not sufficiently numerous to have filled any one of the places if they had all met together. There were some sessions intended to be joint meetings, but they were small and far from representative, for each organization was chiefly interested in its own meeting. The only meeting in which there was any considerable union of forces was one made over by the writer's giving up his opportunity to speak in the best hour of the

best day of the convention in order to bring several great societies together.

The need of greater co-operation was so apparent that in one of the general conferences in which all international societies were supposed to be represented, a resolution was adopted that the various national temperance societies should arrange to hold their annual meetings at times and places so near each other that there would be opportunity for the leaders to hold an annual council of war. Another resolution declared for a United Temperance Press, to realize which a committee was named on which were officers of seven national and international organizations. The various societies proved to be unprepared for such united action and the committee was never called together.

Meantime the need of such action became more and more apparent, especially at national and state capitals, and the mover of that resolution persisted in his efforts to realize co-operation. A "harmony dinner" was held in Washington early in 1909, at which half a dozen societies were represented by one or more officers each, and the good effects were at once seen in friendlier co-operation. A larger banquet was therefore suggested.

A little girl who attempted to sing "We'll all swell the harmony," being more familiar with another word, sang "We'll all smell the hominy." Reformers should remember that from the beginning smelling the hominy and swelling the harmony have gone together. Few need such harmony banquets more

than strenuous reformers, whose combativeness is largely developed and not infrequently is turned upon comrades who may be a little less conservative or a little less radical than themselves, or whose zeal for some one reform or some one society may start a conflict. In inviting the reform leaders of the country to another "Reformers' Conclave" at the national capital in December, reference was made to this occasional misdirection of the combativeness of reformers as being analogous to the case of a man who bought a boning machine that was intended to separate fish from the bones, putting the bones on the plate and the meat into the mouth, but having turned the machine the wrong way his mouth was swiftly filled with bones, with very uncomfortable results.

In response to the invitations for the "Conclave," delegates and officials came from twenty-one national and international organizations, whose point of unity was that all were in favor of total abstinence and the total suppression of the saloon, and it was found that in these two fundamental principles of unity, organizations as far apart as the conservative Anti-Saloon League on the one hand, and the radical Prohibition National Committee on the other, were able to consult together in perfect harmony for a week.

Evidence that there was need of putting this unity of spirit into some permanent expression that would lead to permanent unity of action was forthcoming the very first day, in the eloquent picture given by

Congressman Richmond Pearson Hobson, of Alabama, of the defeat of constitutional prohibition which had occurred shortly before in that state. On the one hand were the united national forces of the liquor traffic, while on the other were only the local temperance forces, inexperienced in political warfare, and scantily equipped with literature and speakers and funds for so great a fight. He scored the temperance leaders of the nation for lack of generalship. It was shown that there should be some national body ready to throw into such a fight lecturers and literature far beyond what the local forces could pay for, since a temperance fight is not really a local one, but simply part of a world-wide war. As well suppose Gettysburg should have defended itself as regard any temperance fight as less than a national battle. Reform statesmanship should see that battle plans are made long in advance, as Bismarck and Von Moltke prepared for the war with France.

The president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Kentucky drew a similar picture of the many defeats of county option in 1909 in that state, due again to the fact that only the local forces were engaged on the temperance side, while the whole national force of the liquor traffic was available on the other side, so far as it might be needed to carry the day.

While reformers should fight against war as one of the great evils of the day, they should study the generalship of the greatest warriors to guide them

in moral warfare. And the very pinnacle of modern generalship is seen in the story that was told me by Marquis Ito in an interview at Seoul in 1907. I had completed the task of reform diplomacy for which I interviewed him, bringing to his attention tactfully and without offense the fact that under Japanese administration both gambling and the opium traffic were increasing in Korea. Then I turned for a moment of enjoyment to ask a question that had been upon my mind, whether Marshal Oyama, Secretary of War and Commander in Chief in the Japanese war against Russia, was a professional soldier or only a civilian, like many of our Secretaries of War, taking up the supervision of military affairs as a political duty. Fortunately Marquis Ito misunderstood my question and answered: "The commander in chief does not go to the firing line. *He sits among the telephones.* Marshal Oyama at Mukden had sixty-eight telephones connecting sixty-eight different commanders with his headquarters; and when one commander was hard pressed he quickly transferred troops from some other commander who had more than enough."

The picture was that of a commander in chief sitting upon a hill overlooking the battle, with his back to a rock and under an overhanging tree, with an extemporized telephone "central," moving troops as if the battle field were but a chess board. It seems too clear for argument that there ought to be some joint commission that could as skillfully move lecturers and literature lying idle at one point

to some other where the battle was on. At the very time when Alabama was defeated for lack of such re-enforcement there were at least one hundred reform lecturers of real ability who were lying idle or speaking not more than one-sixth as many times as they would have been glad to speak. And there were great stores of temperance literature lying idle upon shelves because societies could not afford the postage to send them out. And there were half used office rooms of reform societies where, without any increased expense for heat, light, furniture or supervision, a hundred additional clerks might have been added to send prohibition arguments to pastors and leaders. And there was at that time enough money and time being wasted by reform speakers in long railroad trips between scattered and occasional appointments to have saved the day if the money had been devoted to sending those same men to what was at that time the "firing line" of the national war between the home and the saloon.

Congressman Hobson, fresh from that field of needless defeat, charged the temperance leaders of the nation with lack of generalship. Are we guilty or not guilty?

It is answered that it was a foolish fight! Then it adds yet another argument for a commission of temperance generals, to which the inexperienced local forces might have turned for advice as to the best form of constitutional amendment and the best time and way to make such a fight.

The later defeats, of state prohibition in Virginia and of local option in Maryland, underscore all that has been said of Alabama.

Such a union commission is needed also to send out petition forms and other promotion literature to pastors especially in behalf of legislative bills, state and national, which several organizations have endorsed, for which no one society therefore can be expected to supply all the funds and labor. In the absence of such a plan only 80 petitions came in three months for the three most prominent moral measures pending in Congress in the winter of 1909-10.

And the commission would have a still larger task than any of those that have been described, in the steady work of developing union lecture courses, to be followed by the distribution of reform literature from door to door—the first to plow, the second to sow the public mind with facts, with a view to harvesting total abstinence practice as well as prohibition sentiment. The "Reformers' Conclave" voted to submit to the various national and international organizations devoted wholly or partly to temperance reform the proposal to co-operate through an officially-appointed Joint Temperance Commission; but because of the fact that official meetings having power to act are scattered all through the year, and because some leaders do not yet see the need and value of co-operation, and for other reasons, it was found inexpedient to wait for the slow development of an *official* commission.

Accordingly, an organization that so fully recognized the need of such a union agency that it was ready to put valuable property in its hands by way of starting an endowment fund for the distribution of reform literature through all reform societies in the interest of the common cause, named an International Moral and Social Commission that will stand on its merits as unofficially representative of the reform forces in many lands and make its appeal for moral and material co-operation to those who believe that the present wasteful and divisive plans of reformers should give way to cordial and systematic co-operation.*

Those who have accepted a position on "The International Moral and Social Commission" up to the date when this book went to press were: Prof. John M. Barker, Boston; Rev. Samuel Zane Batten, D. D., Lincoln, Neb.; Hon. Henry W. Blair and Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Washington, D. C.; Hon. R. P. Hobson, M. C., Greensboro, Ala.; Rev. Sylvanus Stall, D. D., Philadelphia; Mr. Henry S. Warner, Chicago; Rev. J. G. Shearer, D. D., Rev. S. D. Chown, D. D., Toronto; Archdeacon Boyce, Sydney, Australia; Dr. R. Hercod, Lansanne, Switzerland; Rev. E. W. Thwing, Tietsien, China. The first task of the Commission will be to secure funds to put the new discoveries as to alcohol into schools in books, and into millions of homes in leaflets.

VIII.

VICTORIES OF AN ARMY OF ONE.

We need as much as increased organization in this country, increased recognition of what Daniel Webster said was the greatest thought that ever passed through his mind, that of his *"individual responsibility to God."* History is full of illustrations of the power of the individual. It is made up largely of the victories of an army of one. In this day, when organization has been carried to an extent never known before, there is real danger that we shall get to depending too much on paper constitutions. In my seminary days in Boston, when it was the best part of my education to hear Wendell Phillips about once a month on an average for three years, I remember that he said on one occasion, referring to this danger of depending too much upon organization and neglecting our individual opportunities, that the time would probably come when a mother "could not spank her own children without a constitution and by-laws." Years afterwards, speaking to the Mother's Congress of New York State, I recalled this remark and intimated that the time which the preacher prophesied had come; but I said, "If the great orator thought that the proper administration of discipline to children was not a subject that called for associated council, he was surely mistaken." Nevertheless,

there was a wholesome warning in his quaint utterance, for surely in all our churches and associations scores of people run to waste because they are depending upon some committee to do such things as every man should do as the opportunity offers. Organization is beneficial only when it preserves individual responsibility and activity, and multiplies it by association, in accordance with the divine arithmetic, that "one shall chase a thousand, but two shall put," not two thousand but "ten thousand to flight." In other words, organization at its best multiplies individual power fivefold. But organization in many instances is not at its best, and simply displaces a larger and nobler individual activity.

The twenty-one years I have devoted wholly to reform work abound in encouraging illustrations of the large results that may be achieved by individual action. Indeed, the greatest surprise that has come to me in reform activity has been the discovery again and again and again that wrong doers will cease their wrong doing in many lines if some one will courteously ask them. The only arrest that most wrong-doers need is what Miss Frances E. Willard named "the arrest of thought." What this means in connection with individual effort can best be explained by a group of representative incidents, gathered out of more than five hundred of the same sort in the same life.

Arriving in a New Jersey city of about ten thousand inhabitants one Saturday evening at five o'clock, and noting that there was a whole hour

before supper—enough to accomplish some permanent local reform if one knows how—I said to the driver of the carriage that was to take me to the home of a prominent citizen, "Drive me to the nearest news room." There I found a courteous old gentleman, connected, as was afterwards learned, with one of the churches, who, notwithstanding, had on his shelves several periodicals such as were allowed on none of the railway lines and were manifestly under the ban of the law, a fact which neither the dealer, the preachers of the town, nor the patrons of the place seemed to know. The newsdealer's attention was called to the character of these periodicals and to the law of the state, whereupon, with manifest innocence, he declared that he had no idea there was anything improper or illegal about them. He was simply selling what the news agency had sent, apparently never noting the psychological effect of these periodicals upon boys in their age of adolescence who came to his store to buy them. He at once promised to send them back and sell no more. It had taken less than five minutes to accomplish this, and the driver was told to go to the next news room. This was kept by a lady and her daughter, and when the latter, on inquiry, handed to the reformer one of the foul periodicals, he said to the mother, "Do you see what sort of a magazine your daughter is offering to a gentleman?" The mother colored to the roots of her hair, and said that she had felt that such literature ought not to be sold, but knew nothing of the law, and had handled them

simply because the news agency had sent them. She, too, was glad to promise not to sell them any more. The third newsdealer was visited with similar results. In ten minutes' time, a city of ten thousand inhabitants had been rid of a stream of moral pollution pouring weekly and monthly into its shops and homes. A year afterwards the reformer found that these newsdealers had kept their word, but a fourth newsdealer had opened. He waited half an hour outside his shop in order to see him alone, and in five minutes he was ready to join the others in excluding such literature from his place.

Journeying on a lecture tour through Pennsylvania, I found that there would be an hour between trains at a junction and again recognized that there was time for some local reform. In that hour I secured the promise of four newsdealers to discontinue the selling of certain criminal and vicious periodicals and libraries. I notified the pastors of these promises and asked them to follow up this advantage. If they did not "hold the fort" after it was so captured, it was certainly their own fault. Having lectured one night in a city of Michigan, I found on starting for the train the next day with my host, a Y. M. C. A. secretary, that there were at least five minutes to spare in getting to the station. I remarked that there was "time enough to clean a news room," and entering a high-class book store, found some of these corrupting periodicals there, secured the promise of their banishment, and

reached my train on time. A similar incident occurred in a city in Pennsylvania. Arriving five minutes ahead of the train at the depot, I said again, "There is time to clean a news room," and going to one near the station, kept by a good natured Norwegian who was probably uninformed about our laws, I pointed out the periodicals that were illegal and unwholesome, secured their removal, and caught my train.

Arriving in a city of West Virginia one Saturday night about half past nine, somewhat wearied, I thought myself excusable for not taking my usual Saturday night recreation, which is cleaning the news rooms of whatever town I am to serve by addresses on the following day. I had partly disrobed when the power of habit arrested me, and feeling that I should lack a quiet conscience if I omitted my usual Saturday evening exercise, I went out upon the street, visited four newsdealers, secured the promise of each of them that they would cast out this class of literature "if the others would," which required a second tour, and at eleven o'clock the double promise had been obtained from them all. On returning a year afterwards, I was told that the promise had been faithfully kept.

In none of these cases was there an unpleasant word. Individuals were always approached with the watchword in mind that "Evil is wrought for want of thought." Dealing with offenders alone and on this assumption, in a quiet spirit, success was usually achieved without any appeal to force. In-

deed, in a hundred such cases, not half a dozen refusals have been encountered.

One Saturday night in a city on the Hudson, I visited seven newsdealers then operating there and secured the promise of six of them to stop selling literature that glorified crime and made lust attractive. But the seventh man, when talked with quietly in the back of the shop, began to bluster, and refused to accede to my reasonable request. It being then too late to see the chief of police, he was seen on Sunday morning, at which time the news room was again open. The chief promised that he would himself take care of the obstreperous offender. Such an appeal to the authorities is seldom necessary, and in this class of cases is usually effective whenever made.

I had a similar experience in regard to foul pictures in windows. In an Ohio town I saw in a saloon window a picture that would corrupt the imagination of passing youth, which had been there so long that it was marked with fly spots. Approaching the dealer courteously and reminding him that such a picture was unwholesome and illegal, he consented to remove it, and twenty minutes later, when I passed that way to lecture, it had disappeared.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to suggest that reformers are depending too much on saving the world by talking. Both speakers and hearers need to combine precept and practice.

GOOD HUNTING IN PITTSBURG AND CLEVELAND.

During a week's stay in Pittsburg, being somewhat wearied, I decided on some recreation, and so, purchasing a hunting suit, I visited fifty-one newsdealers, secured from every one of them the promise to cease selling vicious and criminal periodicals by simply showing the law, which I carried on a card in my pistol pocket, and drew whenever it was necessary. This experience was subsequently written up under the heading, "Hunting in the Wilds of Pittsburg," by way of showing younger reformers how easy it is, if one goes at it in the right spirit, to remove without prosecution and by individual effort, many of the moral perils of the streets.

Another representative case occurred when appointments for three Sundays in Cleveland held me there over the two intervening weeks. Reasoning that the Anti-Saloon League was looking after the temperance matters and the Sunday Union after the Sabbath breaking, but that no organization was doing anything to speak of to remove temptations to impurity in literature, pictures and shows, I took that up as a convenient task for so brief a period. General Nelson A. Miles had recommended shortly before that automobiles should be used in war, and I said, "I will be the first to use one." Securing the promise of an automobile from a Bible class teacher, I made a copy of the drastic law of Ohio, that had seldom been enforced, forbidding any exposure where a boy could see it of foul pictures or literature, under the maximum penalty of five hun-

dred dollars fine or two years imprisonment. I asked the city attorney to sign a copy of the law as correct, and to state that it was "published for those who had broken it unwittingly." The city attorney readily consented to print copies of the law for me and an additional supply for the Endeavor Societies that might follow up my work, and for the police that they might give a copy to every person in the city dealing in pictures or literature. With this certified law as my only weapon, and accompanied by the Bible class teacher, whose automobile had been granted for the campaign, and by one of the secretaries of the Y. M. C. A., twenty newsdealers were quietly "raided" in two hours and a half. Foul pictures were torn up without protest in ten of them, and in all twenty corrupt magazines were dumped in a heap and a promise was secured that they should be sent back to the news agency and never handled again. Not a rough word was spoken on either side. The whole excursion was as exhilarating as an elephant hunt in India or a hippopotamus hunt in Africa. We of the reforming party could scarcely keep back the laughter as we saw the terror which the reading of the law created in those who had been violating it, and who were very glad to escape with a promise to sell no more of the forbidden literature. The trip was an admirable illustration of Dr. Parkhurst's revised version: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but they *make better time when some one is after them.*"

After the automobile had been dismissed, I made an additional call alone at a tobacco shop where a foul picture was the center of a decorated window. Having shown the proprietor the law, and the risk he was running by such an exhibition, he was glad to have me tear the picture up instead of taking it away as evidence, and said, with an attempt to be cheerful, "I thank you, Reverend, I thank you kindly; my daughter's a member of the Christian Endeavor." As some men are attempting to go to heaven clinging to the skirts of their Christian wives, this man was hoping to escape the law by hiding behind his religious daughter.

Only one newsdealer in Cleveland refused to remove the corrupting literature pointed out, and this was a young man, whose father, the senior partner, was absent. On the reformer's reporting his conduct to the chief of police, the latter went at once to his place, and on the reformer's next visit the youth was meekness itself, and made no more trouble.

MORAL STREET CLEANING.

A similar policy has been pursued in a more important reform, indeed one that ranks next in importance to the temperance reform in these days, the cleaning of foul shows, which are probably doing even more harm than saloons in proportion to their number, because they reach the very children in the penny peep shows, the nickelodeons and matinees, most of which have in them some appeal to passion or some glorification of crime.

In the frequent discussion of trusts the worst two are too much overlooked, the race gambling trust, that does its deadly work largely with young men, and the still worse theatre trust that corrupts even the children.

In a Nebraska city, having spoken in the high school in the afternoon, as I delight to do, I went out upon the street to make a diagnosis of the town before giving a curative prescription in the evening lecture. I found a lot of school children coming out of a nickelodeon. The expression on their faces suggested that they had seen something they were ashamed of. This led me to investigate, and I found, as usual—in combination with some innocent amusement, one bad piece—in this case, "A Return to Hell." There were women in hell, and they did not wear white ribbons, or much of anything else. The reformer was glad to see some of the school girls rise and go out in protest. He himself carried his protest to the mayor direct, who, on this word of a passing stranger, promised that the objectionable portion of the exhibition should be removed before the evening performance, and, true to his pledge, he knocked hell out of that show. If that were done in many of our popular shows there would be little left. The reformer had occasion to tell this story soon after to a small audience in the Old Stone Church in Cleveland. Two young men came to the speaker at the close and said, "We liked that address, especially knocking hell out of that show." It will be observed that this is a plain,

straightforward, historical statement, for the reformer never indulges in slang, but he is glad to come in this way occasionally on a much-needed imprecatory psalm.

There are hundreds more of these illustrations of the possibilities of individual effort, but I close this group with an instructive incident of a swift victory over bad shows in Buffalo, N. Y.

EVERYBODY CAN DO GOOD BY TIMELY LETTERS.

Completing a tour of four continents, the superintendent of the International Reform Bureau found that American cities in 1907 were generally making some progress in municipal reform; that Sunday saloons were generally closed throughout the West, and gambling was to a considerable degree suppressed; but in most instances Sunday shows, especially nickelodeons, were allowed to run full blast. Almost the only Western states in which the Sunday shows were found to be suppressed were Idaho, where a Reform Bureau law had accomplished this result, and Missouri, where Governor Folk's influence had led to general law enforcement. Buffalo was found to be in an unusually good condition, its foremost merchant, Mr. J. N. Adam, having retired from business to become an energetic and progressive mayor. He had closed the Sunday saloons and Sunday shows and had suppressed gambling within the city limits all the week. But no one had asked him to reform the theatres in their week day exhibitions of crime and vice. The

nickelodeons and penny arcades and bill boards were also representing criminals as heroes and impurity as "gaiety." Accordingly the reformer appealed to a men's league at the close of the Sunday morning services at the Plymouth Methodist Church to take up this neglected part of municipal reform as a fitting task for Christian men. He reminded them that in savage tribes the women are required to do the hard work, but the men do the fighting, while in our Christian nation the women are expected to do both the work and the fighting. The development of men's leagues in the churches was mentioned as the most hopeful forward movement in the religious world, but it was urged that these leagues would not long continue unless manly work was given them to do. No church organization as such should go into partisan politics or law and order work, said the speaker, but it should follow prophets and apostles in reasoning with government, of righteousness and temperance and a judgment to come. The immediate application of this principle was that these men should write to the mayor thanking him for the important reforms he had accomplished and urging him to clean up theatres, moving pictures, penny arcades and the billboards. Thirty men raised their hands as a pledge to write such a letter. Twenty-five kept their promises that very Sunday afternoon, in harmony with the message of the risen Christ to John on Patmos on the Lord's Day, when he said in a voice like the sound of many waters, "Write." He wrote

seven letters, by way of positive observance of the Lord's Day. These letters, among other things, taught that Christians should hate what God hates, and should serve God in social ethics as well as in worship. The next morning the superintendent presented the same matter to the preachers' meeting, and at noon went with forty preachers to see the mayor. But the laymen's letters had already accomplished the desired result. The mayor on opening his morning mail and reading those twenty-five letters of appeal from Christian business men had dictated a letter to the chief of police ordering the purging of the theatres, nickelodeons, penny arcades and bill boards, which was begun in the most radical way on Monday afternoon in a matinee from which three scenes were cut out. Nine pictures of seduction were removed from one penny arcade that very night, and new bill posters had to be printed by one of the theatres.

The incident is suggestive in many ways. Every man should vote his fraction of public sentiment in the mail box on city and state and national issues. Every one of the increasing millions of church members in this country should send at least seven letters that might well be written on next Sunday, if not before: one of them to the mayor, asking him for law enforcement; two to state assemblyman and senator, in behalf of needed state legislation; another to the writer's congressman and two to his national senators, leaving a seventh to be written to some civic organization to give moral and material

support to organized movements for a Christianized community.

The illustrations that every one can make the world better by a letter are almost countless. The writer saw, for instance, in one of the most popular Saturday evening papers in our country, an advertisement of a twenty-dollar book, giving "the back-stairs gossip" of the French court in the days of the Louis'. There was no mistaking the purpose of the advertisement; it was to make money by corrupting homes of wealth. The writer took the trouble to get the offered prospectus, found the book was what it purported to be, and wrote a courteous statement to that effect to the publishers of the paper, with the result that a letter of thanks was received and an assurance that, despite hundreds of dollars of advertising profit involved, the advertisement would be at once discontinued. In a more recent instance, a paper came to the writer's notice, purporting to represent officially the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and yet containing two whiskey advertisements. This was brought to the attention of the presiding judge in a courteous letter, with the result that the matter was taken up by the full court, and it was found that the paper had no authority for claiming to be such an official organ, and was compelled to cancel that claim in its pages. Many such letters are responsible, no doubt, for the fact that a long list of papers and magazines have decided to exclude liquor advertisements. Those that still continue to send into happy homes invitations to drink would hasten to

discontinue these advertisements if parents who disapprove them would serve notice that either the periodicals must go from their homes or the liquor advertisements must go from their pages.

LOBBYING BY LETTERS.

One of the most important uses of letters is to carry good measures and defeat bad measures in legislative bodies, local, state and national. Not one of a dozen important bills in Congress that "make it harder to do wrong and easier to do right," would fail of passage if one million of the twenty-five millions of church members were practical enough in their Christian life to vote their fraction of public sentiment in brief courteous letters to their own congressmen and senators. A typical incident in this line occurred during the battle for the Sunday closing of the World's Fair at Chicago. One effort to open the gates on Sunday had failed, and the forces of greed were thoroughly aroused for a second effort. To make defeat swift and sure in this second battle it was desirable to kill the bill in the committee. The record of its eleven members on the previous vote was looked up. It was found that six men had voted for Sunday closing, four for Sunday opening, and one man did not vote—a man from the Essex district of Massachusetts. It was thus apparent that if he were with the minority, we were in a dangerous position with only one majority. In such case a very earnest effort would be made to influence one or two men's votes by hook or crook,

and turn the scale. The first thing, therefore, was to find how this Massachusetts member was intending to vote in this new battle. He was called out of the House of Representatives into the lobby, and was met with this statement: "When the Sunday closing bill for the World's Fair was up at the last session you did not vote." At this discovery that his record had been looked up, he raised his eyes, and then the question followed swiftly: "How are you going to vote this time?" Usually, in such a case, a congressman mounts the fence and balances himself like a trapeze performer crossing Niagara on a rope, careful not to lean to either side, but he answered frankly and boldly: "I intend to vote for Sunday opening." To this the reformer replied, "I know Massachusetts, and I know your district, for I formerly lived there, and if you vote that way, you will not represent either of them." To this he retorted, "I am the best judge of that," and turned on his heel and went into the House. The reformer said to himself, "I wonder if he would be quite so positive if his district were speaking to him instead of one who is no longer where he can vote either for or against him." The reformer therefore wrote to the Christian Endeavor headquarters in Boston, that the congressman from the Essex district "had not heard from home" on this question, and was about to vote the wrong way because his lazy Christian constituents had not taken the trouble to express their views. The reformer also wrote to the pastors of Haverhill, Massachusetts, where he had formerly

preached, and asked a Congregational preacher to notify all the Congregational preachers in the district, a Methodist, all the Methodists, a Baptist, all the Baptists. In half a week, one of the Boston papers said that the congressman from the Essex district had been "snowed under with letters against Sunday opening." And now for the sequel. The Committee, having captured one of the majority, which would give them a majority of one with the vote of the Essex member, sent into the House of Representatives to urge him to come at once to the Committee and enable them to report in favor of Sunday opening. But the letters from his district had created an armed neutrality. He would not vote against the expressed wishes of so many of his constituents, and the bill failed because it could not be reported without his affirmative vote. And so one Congressional district learned what many others still need to learn—the meaning of President Lincoln's great words, which to most people are still only a pretty saying, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The royal family of America is King Everybody and His Wife, and the royal motto is, "Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business." Let us change that by an awakening sense of individual power in which everybody's business shall become everybody's business.

I AM ONLY ONE, BUT I AM ONE;
I CANNOT DO EVERYTHING, BUT I CAN DO SOMETHING;
AND WHAT I CAN DO I OUGHT TO DO,
AND, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, I WILL DO."

MULTIPLY YOUR POWER BY UNITING WITH THE CHURCH.

We have shown that "one shall chase a thousand" is not hyperbole but history, and yet we come back again to the divine multiplication, "two shall put ten thousand to flight," which puts on every individual the divine obligation to multiply himself by joining the Church.

Until the Church is organized to handle all social problems, every citizen should also belong to at least one organization for social betterment.

But no membership in any such outside association can displace the fundamental social duty of church membership that lies on every man who desires to make Christ King by making His laws the laws of this world. *Whatever may be the defects of the Church, it is the mightiest force for good on earth, and every man and woman should help to increase its power.* Whatever may be done by the individual, or by the scouting parties of reformers, the final victory can be won by no other force on earth save the main army of the Church of God, led on by consecrated prophets who are "seers" of God and so without fears of man.

Governor Charles E. Hughes, of New York, in a tribute to Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, said: "The sincere preacher we cannot afford to lose. We could better afford to lose governors or legislators,

but *there must be in the preacher a passion for righteousness.*"

WHAT THE WORLD EXPECTS OF THE CHURCH.

In a profound editorial, in December, 1909, the Chicago Interior said:

"THE CHURCH'S TASKS MULTIPLY ALL THE WHILE AND GROW HARDER. VERY RECENTLY NOBODY WOULD HAVE DREAMED OF LOOKING TO THE CHURCH FOR RELIEF FROM OPPRESSIONS OF WICKED PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND THIEVING POLITICAL RINGS. ITS SPHERE WAS SUPPOSED TO BE ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF LIFE FROM POLITICS. BUT UNDER PUSH OF MORAL INDIGNATIONS WHICH PRECEDENT COULD NOT CONFINE, THE CHURCH HERE AND THERE, ONCE AND AGAIN, HAS BEEN DRIVEN TO TRY ITS METTLE FIGHTING GREED AND VICE. AND IN SUCH CON-

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*Dr. H. K. Carroll's annual census of American churches for 1909 (New York Christian Advocate Jan. 27, 1910), shows the total membership of the churches to be 34,677,000, a gain of 791,713 over previous year. There were 168,378 preachers, a gain of 4,023, and 215,160 churches, a gain of 4,726. The report is encouraging as compared to a few years ago, when it took ninety and nine church members a whole year to bring one lost sheep into the fold. In 1909, it took only about half as many. In Protestant churches the women are almost twice as numerous as the men—61 to 39. The number of sects has increased to 174, of which fully three-fourths are American inventions. Every attempt to make two denominations one increases two to three. Much of this sectarianism is a sin against God and a hindrance to social progress. The denominational groups with the largest membership roll are: Catholics, 12,372,069; Methodists, 6,477,224; Baptists, 5,570,590; Lutherans, 2,173,047; Presbyterians, 1,848,046. Then come in order Episcopalians, Reformed, Mormons, United Brethren, Jews, Dunkards Friends, Adventists.

FLICTS THE CHURCH HAS DISCOVERED TO ITSELF AND TO THE WORLD A NEW POSSIBILITY. THE MEN WHO LOVE GRAFT AND VICE HAVE LEARNED A NEW FEAR. THE MEN WHO HATE THEM HAVE GOT A NEW HOPE. BOTH THE FEAR AND THE HOPE POINT TO THE CHURCH. THE REWARD OF WHAT LITTLE THE CHURCH HAS ALREADY DONE FOR CIVIC AND SOCIAL REFORM IS THIS—IT IS EXPECTED TO DO MORE. IT IS A TERRIFIC THING FOR THE CHURCH TO BE EXPECTED. ITS DUTY IS SERIOUS ENOUGH WHEN IT HAS TO THRUST ITSELF ON A WORLD THAT DOESN'T WANT IT. BUT WHEN THE WORLD IS WANTING IT AND WAITING FOR IT, THEN THE RESPONSIBILITY OUGHT TO MAKE THE CHURCH QUAKE. IF IT FAILS THEN, IT SQUANDERS OPPORTUNITY, AND TRADES AN OFFERED RESPECT FOR AN EARNED CONTEMPT. IT NOT ONLY DISAPPOINTS GOD, BUT BETRAYS HUMANITY."

"MEN OF THE WORLD HAVE LEARNED TO WAIT UNTIL THE CHURCH LEADS BECAUSE:

"THE CHURCH HAS IN IT SOMETHING WHICH LASTS;

"THE CHURCH WHEN TRUE TO ITSELF IS REALLY FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE;

"THE CHURCH CAN PRESENT A SOLID FRONT;

"THE CHURCH HAS JESUS CHRIST. THE WORLD KNOWS JESUS WAS BRAVE. IT WANTS THAT COURAGE NOW, AND HOPES TO FIND IT IN CHRIST'S FOLLOWERS."

Let us confront the problems of the hour in that spirit of triumphant hope which Browning declared in prose and poetry, and illustrated in his

life. He wrote: "I hold not with the pessimist that all things are ill, nor with the optimist that all things are well. All things are not ill, and all things are not well, but all things shall be well, because this is God's world." That explains the meaning of his lines:

"God's in his heaven
All's right with the world."

And both of these help us to understand the words of his swan song, in which his own and every Christian's right attitude of hopeful courage is pictured:

"One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward;
Never doubted clouds would break;
Never feared, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

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